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THE Sellent

ANTIQUITIES

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PALMYRA,

aliàs

TADMOR,

Built by King Solomon;

Containing the Hiftory of that

City and its Emperors,

From its Foundation to this prefent Time.

Petiwr WITH

An Appendix of Critical Observations on the Names, Religion; and Government of the Country;

Illustrated with a large View of the Ruins of the Place as it now is, and a Learned Commentary on the several Inscriptions and Coins lately found there.

The Second Edition

LONDON,

Printed for S. SMITH and B. WALFORD, Printers to the Royal Society, at the Prince's Arms, in St. Paul's Church Yard, MDCC V.

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SOCIETATI REGIAE In Collegio Greshamensi

Supremo Numini, & Laboranti Naturæ Horas utilissimè impendenti,

Veræ Philosophiæ instauratrici,

Mathematum, & politioris Litteraturæ
Arbitræ, & Sequestræ,
Eruditi orbis Delicijs,

Quam ambierunt Principlum Maximi,

Venerantur, quotquot Musis litarunt

Farraginem hanc

RERUM PALMYRENARUM

Αυτοσχεδιας! exaratam

Summo, quo decet, cultu, & observantia

Lubens merito more majorum,

D. D. D. C. Q.

AB. SELLERUS.

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PREFACE.

HE Learned World having been for some years in expectation of a Description of the Antiquities of Palmyra from some accurate Traveller, whose Curiofity might prompt him to visit those Desarts, that he might enrich Europe with the Rarities of that remote Province of the East, of which the World had had but a very obscure, if any, account; some worthy English Merchants, pursuant to the Dictates of that nobler Genius, that actuates the generous Members of the Levant Company, overlookt all the Difficulties and Hazards, that accompany such an Enterprize, and attempted the Discovery. And though the first Esfay was not crown'd with so good Success, as it deserv'd, through the Treachery and Baseness of the Arab Prince, who at that time govern'd the Country; the second Voyage was perform'd to the great Satisfaction of Mankind, and 'tis to their Munificence, that we owe those Journals, which the Royal Society hath lately publisht. Nor is this the only Instance, wherein those eminent Merchants have been Benefactors to the Commonwealth of Letters; their Company confisting of Men of good Birth, and gentile Education, of liberal Fortunes, and as large Minds; and may their Success in their worldly Affairs be fuited to their great Deserts, may they always flourish, and always be in a capacity to do worthy Actions.

To the jealous Arabs the Undertaking seem'd ridiculous, that prudent Men should contract a great Expence only to transcribe a sew impersect Inscriptions, and take a view of old Ruines, and perhaps there are some Censors who live nearer than the Desarts of Tadbmur, who are of the same opinion; but the Men of Judgment in all Ages have entertained different Sentiments, and Providence seems to have been particularly concern'd in the Preservation

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of many Fragments of Antique Litte-When * Strabo treats of Olyn- * L.2.p.121. thus, and other Cities of Greece, which had been utterly destroy'd before his time, insomuch as whosoever travel'd those parts, might justly question, whither ever those places had been inhabited; he subjoins, that the Curious and Inquisitive were pleas'd to visit those Ruines, being desirous to see the Theatres, where so many noble Actions had been perform'd, and to pay Homage to the Ashes of those Illustrious Persons, who lay there buried: (And what a Spirit of Emulation does it raise in every generous Soul to prompt him to sublime Actions, when he views the Tombs, or hears the Story of the Heroes of former Ages?) And in the days of + Lucian, when many Cities had + In Chabeen swallowed up of Earthquakes, or bu- ront. ried in the Sea, tho Rivers themselves bad been lost, and absorpt, that they never more appear'd, yet the Tomb of Inachus was preserv'd at Argos, a Memorial of the Atchievements of that first King of the Morea.

Neither Strabe, nor Mela, take any notice of Palmyra, nor (which is more to be admired) many of the Arabian (Arca!

(633)

A 4 Geogra-

Geographers, neither Alferganus, nor the Geographer commonly called the Nubian, neither Nasser Eddin nor Vlug Beig, set out by our Learned Mr. Greaves; its Situation was very remote from both Rome and Athens, in the midft of vast Defarts, which deter'd the curious Traveller; and its Empire, and Glory were so short-lived, that we cannot expect a large Description of its State and Fortunes from the ancient Writers. But such Memorials, as either they, or the later Historians have afforded. I have taken care to digest into method, and to offer them to the present Age. Had we Domninus the Historian of Antioch, who lived in the Neighbourhood, or Philostratus of Athens, or Nicostratus of Trebizond, who wrote the History of those times, particularly the Affairs of the East, it would have been no difficult Province to have given a more perfect account of that Country; or had we but that one Oration of the most accurate Longinus, which he wrote in praise of Odanathus, that no doubt would have furnisht a sufficient stock of Materials toward the writing the Life of that Great

Great Man; but these are Blessings lost to the World, and, I fear, past retrie-

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It may look like a bold, and daring Undertaking, to adventure to build a Large Structure with fo few Materials: but I have been as careful in my accounts, as I was qualified to be, and according to my Understanding have confin'd my self to the strict Rules of Truth, and exactly followed my Vouchers, (whom for that reason I have cited in the Margin;) for he, who pretends to write History without Authorities, may be faid to be Author of a Romance, or a Collector of Dreams, but can never be allowed to be a good And if I have been, as I take Historian. it for granted, mistaken in any of my Conjectures, (as I have frequently taken that liberty, but no where, that I know of, without some grounds for my so doing) it is no wonder, and will be eafily pardoned, when 'tis confider'd, that even the Historians of that Country, and of the early Ages, knew not all the particulars of the Palmyrene Affairs; that Theodorit himself the Bishop of Cy-

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rus in Cyrrhestica, a Neighbouring Province, in less than two hundred years after the Reign of Odænathus, is so mistaken, as to affirm, that Zenobia was constituted the Toparch of Syria, and Phænicia by the Persians, after they had routed the Romans, and that he, who digs in a dark Mine, may be allowed a little failure in his Work; and I shall thank any Learned Man, who shall correct my Errors, and set the His

story in a better light.

I have dealt with my Reader, as I love to be treated my felf, having been always pleased with a full account of whatever is material on any subject, when profestly handled; and I have given my Authorities in the Margin, not to make a show of much acquaintance with Books, but to inform the Reader that I have not imposed on him, and to direct him where he may fatisfy himfelf, if he doubts. I have used the words Palmyra and Tadhmur promiscuously, because, though the new name, whither imposed by a Conqueror, or given for any other reason, prevail'd among the Greeks and Romans, yet the old Syriac name 0-

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name kept its Interest among the Natives, and has at this day recover'd an entire Possession, as some other neighbouring Cities in that Country have done: So Casarea in Palestine is at prefent call'd, as of old, Paneas; and Petra in Arabia, is now named Bofra, to omit

other Instances. For, as * Ammianus Marcellinus has well observ'd, When Seleucus Nicator rebuilt many old Cities in Syria, (among whom we may reckon Palmyra) and gave them Strength and Riches, the' many of them are still called by the Greek Names, which their Founder Seleucus gave them; yet they did at the

* Lib. 14. c. 8. Seleucus Nicator urbes construxit multis opibus firmas, & viribus, quarum ad præsens plereque licet Gracis nominibus appellentur, quæ iisdem ad arbitrium imposita funt conditoris, primogenita tamen nomina non amittunt, quæ ex Affyria lingua inftitutores veteres indide-

same time among the Natives retain their old Syrian Appellations, which their first Founders imposed. (Hence came it, that the new name of Adrianople given to Palmyra, was in a little time worn out: and the' the Greeks called the Island of Corfica + Cyrnus, the Natives still main- + Diod. Sic. tain'd the Interest of the true name, and 1.5. p.205. it continues to this day; and the' He- Steph ... raclea was for a while called Plistarchia, πίλ, ν. πλιin time it afferted its ancient Right, and

was called as formerly, Heraclea.) And I heartily wish, that the Learned Men, who have visited those Oriental Countries had furnisht themselves with Instruments, and spent some time in taking the exact Longitudes and Latitudes of the several Cities.

In the Chronological Accounts, I have followed the commonly receiv'd Epochas, and accordingly fixt my Series of Times, without entring into an overnice Examination of particular Disputes in Chronology, which was not fo confonant to my present Subject, having fixt the year of the Creation according to the Computation of our most Learned Arch-bishop Usher. I have freely used the names of the Heathen Gods, (tho' for the most part with a distinguishing Epithet;) and besides, the neceffity of my Subject, which obliged me to it, I might plead the usual practise in other Languages, that the Fathers did the same; and some of the antient Christians, who went larger lengths than I ever durst, witness that Epitaph in Gruter *, (Jovis optimi maximi beneficio hic in spe resurrectionis quiescit;) nor can I be perswaded, that such Studies are disagreeable

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agreeable to my Profession, (if any pasfage of that kind appears in the History, I here renounce it, and may it be, as if it had never been faid or written) while the Learned Synefius hath publisht the Life of Typhon, and Ofiris, St. Ambroje, (as'tisfaid) and Palladius, the History of the Brachmanes, and Nonnus, besides his Paraphrase upon St. John, was the Author of the Dionyfiaca. Tho', after all, I must profess, I expect to be treated rudely by some sowre Criticks; but having no private design in these Papers, I shall please my self to be corrected by a Man of Sense and Temper, and for the rest of the Tribe, they are beneath Consideration; it must be acknowledg'd, that a Treatife of this kind ought to have been written in the Learned Language, (as probably it may be hereafter;) but it was requisite to publish the Commentary in the same Language with the Text, and that the Journals having been set forth in English, the History ought to be written in the same Tongue; and had not a good part of my Papers, when finisht, been unhappily lost past retrieving, my Genius also nauseating the Drudgery of doing the same thing neus,

thing over again, I might perhaps have managed the Subject with more Accuracy. I have affirmed, that the Saturns and Jupiters of the Heathens were born after the days of Job and of Johna, and herein I have followed the Fathers, particularly Theophilus of Antioch, (an excellent Chronologist, and who by that unanswerable Argument hath ruined all that was then said for the Eternity of the World, and of the Heathen Gods) who in one place of his excellent Work a gainst Antolycus, (which for this reason is justly stilled by Lactantius, liber de

*L.2.p.58. temporibus) affirms, * that Saturn, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, were much younger than the Creation; in a second,

† L. 3. p. † that Jupiter was much younger than Moses, and the Law; but more expresly

P. 282. in a third, || that Cronus and Belus, i. e. Saturn, as Thallus says in his History, lived but 322 years before the Trojan War; whereas Moses lived 630 years before that samous Epocha. And the Chronologer Petavius proves, that when Saturn sled into Italy, driven out by his Son Jupiter, Ehud was then a Judge in Israel, about the year 1330 before Christ; and that from the time of Ja-

nus,

nus, to whom Saturn fled, to Aneas, the whole was not 200 years.

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The Arabick Authors, as well as the common People of the Country, are to this day possess with the Opinion, that Tadmur was built by Solomon, and that by the help of Spirits, as was also Baalbec, (says Benjamin Tudelensis) the superstitious Jews and Arabs thinking it impossible that Art should persect a stupendous Building without the assistance of a familiar. If the City were destroy'd by Nebuchadnezzar, before he laid fiege to Ferusalem, as John Malela expresly affirms, and in this account we may give him Credit, because he was of that Country, and may be prefum'd, not to be ignorant of the Affairs of Syria) then it is not improbable, that Seleucus Nicator, the Founder of the Syrian Empire, rebuilt Tadhmur, as he did many other Cities; and that then, in honour to him, and compliance with both their Benefactor and Conqueror; they dated their publick Writings from the first year of his Empire, the æra Seleucidarum, as it is commonly stilled. The Situation of the City fitted it for a publick Ptol. 1. 5. Mart, and the Cities Alalis, Sura, and c. 15. Alamata.

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Alamata, being parts of Palmyrene, and built on the Banks of the Euphrates, may be prefumed the Ports, where they brought their Goods, either exported, or imported on that noble River, the Cities being subject to the Re-publick. Of what Bigness, and Capacity for carriage the River that did run by its Walls was, we know not, it having been many years fince absorpt. That there ran a River there in Ptolemy's time, the Geogragrapher affirms expresly, that many other Rivers have been loft in Earthquakes, to which the Eastern Regions are very subject, no Man doubts; and some which yet continue to run, are L. I. G. 13. soon buried: Mela avers, that a great River arises near Corycus in Cilicia; and having made a great noise, is immedi-

hours afterward buried in the Sands.

When the Romans began to enlarge their Conquests in Syria, I question not but Palmyra was under the Jurisdiction of the Arabs; for when Pompzy the Great, after the Death of the samous Mithradates, marcht against Aretas the King of the Arabs, (Appian calls him King of the

ately swallow'd, and disappears; and the

River that runs by Aleppo, is in a few

the Nabataan Arabs) ann. V. C. 690. ante Christum 63, his Kingdom reacht from the River Eughrates to the Red Sea, fays Dio, (in which compass Pal. L. 36. myra must be included;) this Aretas was doubtless one of the Al-Hariths of the Arabians, who were Kings of Gessan, and in later Ages Lords of Tadhnur. After which time, I believe, it cknowledg'd the Roman Power, but was govern'd by its own Laws, having under its immediate Jurisdiction, besides the three Cities on the River already mentioned, twelve more in the nland of Syria. When Trajan made his glerious Expedition into Persia, I conecture, Palmyra was a Sufferer in the common Galamity of that Country, for Pliny says it was sometime in the Roman, at others in the Parthian Inereft, or ale it would not have needed Hadrica's affiftance to rebuild, and beautify it; while other Cities tasted of Trajan's Bounty, for from Trajan's Expedition (in the 8th year of his Reign, of Christ 105.) the Inhabitants of Bozra and Petra, dated their Writings, fays the Author of the Alexandrian

L.3.p.105. lexandrian Chronicle: and Zosimus as firms, that at Zaragardia, not far from the Euphrates on the Persian side, in his time there flood a noble Throne built of stone, which the Natives called Trajan's Throne; erected, I doubt not, in memory of his illustrious Atchieve ments in that Country. But whatever Palmyra might have suffered under Trajan, was repair'd by his Succeffor, who gave the City his own name, and they in Gratitude made Vows for his Recovery; not in the last, the 19th of his Reign, as thro P. 35, 36. hafte is faid, (he reigned almost 21 years;) but in the seventeenth, from which Sickness he recover'd to dye afterwards in greater torment, (and this I mention here, that I may correct the Mistake in the History:) To this City Septimius Severus may also be presumed a Benefactor, (to whom be-

Spart. vit. Parthians, when he routed Niger, with Septim. whom the Arabs, Parthians, and the Inhabitants of Adiabene, join'd their

Forces) the Re-publick gave their affiftance against the Allies of the Em-

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pire, and adopted his name into their most eminent Families; after which time, till the Reign of Zenobia, I take them to have been in confederacy with, and subject to the Emperors; for they affisted both Alexander Severus and Gordian, in their Expeditions into the East against the Persians, as the Inscriptions testify; only it looks probable, that upon the Captivity of Valerian, the Senate for a while disfembled their Interests, and acknowledg'd the Power of Sapores. In the Battel at Immæ, where Zenobia was routed, S. Hierom affirms, that Pompeianus the Frank settled at Antioch, but the Family was unquestionably fixt in that Country long before; capitoli for when Marcus the Philosopher un-Marcus. dertook the German War, he married his Daughter to Claudius Pompeianus, who was of Antioch. This also I mention to correct another Mistake. After the Captivity of Zenobia, the City was a Spectacle of pity; but being a necessary Frontier, was repair'd, and in Dioclesian's time was the Seat of the Governor of the Province. In B 2 the Phen.

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the days of Constantius, the Inhabitants were noted, as now, for great Robbers, fays the old Geographer, fet out by Gothofred, and govern'd by Wo-P. 8. men; but that I take for granted is an Error, as if, when Zenobia had begun to wield a Scepter, none but her own Sex in that Country durft pre-Malel.part tend to command. Theodoftus the Great divided Libanefia from the Sea-2. 1.39. coast of Phanicia, and made it a distinct Province, Emesa being the Metropolis, under whole Jurisdiction Palmyra was put, and fo continued, when the Followers of Mahomet had made themselves Masters of that Country, and for many Centuries after; for in Abalfedas's time, above 1300 after Christ, Tadbmur acknowledg'd Hems, (Emefa) its Metropolis, and probably it was fo after his time. In the Reign of the * P. 28. ed. same Theodosius; (if * Ethicus, or Who-Gron. ever goes under that name, lived in those days) or before (for St. Hierome is faid to have translated him) Palmy-Towns of the East; as it is also by + Julius Honorius, who lived before Theo-

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Theodoric; for Coffiodore mentions him, (Palmira damascus, read Palmyra, Damaseus) and the Author of the Alexan drian Chronicon among the famous Cities of the fourth Climate, reckons Palmyra, with Apamea, Emesa, &c. in Cale Syria. In Justinian's time it became the Residence of the Governor of the East, and subject to the Constantinopalitan Empire, but 'tis probable did not continue long in that State; for about the year of Christ 640. when Heraclius was Emperor, Jabalab the Son of Al Iham was King of Gaffan, and Lord of Tadhmur, (perhaps a Tributary to Heraclius) who being overcome by Omar the Caliph, one of Mahomet's Successors, submitted, and turn'd Mahometan; but, repenting, he afterward went to Constantinople, and Pococ. not. became a Christian; and at this time, in Specim. I believe, Mahometanism settled it self p. 77, 136. at Tadhmur, the Tribe of Gassan being before those days Christian.

I shall not particularly undertake to demonstrate the Usefulness of Coins and Inscriptions, the Learned World B 3 hath

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hath been already fully convinc'd of that truth; how many difficult, and obscure Passages in Chronology have been set in their due light, how many Series of Kings have been regularly deduc't, what Rites and Customs both facred and civil have been by those helps discover'd, needs no further proof; though were there nothing else at Palmyra to be seen, but the noble Ruines of the Temples and Palaces, built according to the best and boldest Rules of the ancient Architecture, I should think a Journey thither on that Errand alone worth the Undertaking. And though the oldest of the Palmyrene Inscriptions is a hundred years younger than our bleffed Saviour's Incarnation (as I have made appear in the Commentary) yet they are not so contemptible as some have imagin'd, but afford us some Memorials of those times, which no where else occur. And by the same Argument, (the use of the Greek e, which appears not till about Domitian's time) by which I postpone the oldest Inscription at Tadhmur a hundred

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dred years, may we prove the Spurioulness of that Table preserv'd at Rome, which is reported to contain the very Title, which by Pilate's Order was affixt to the Cross of our Lord, for therein Nalagerar is written with the same fort of 6.

It must be confest, that in the Palmyrene Inscriptions are some peculiar words, which occur not in the Lexica, as rapion, Our Eldarion, &c.) of which fort there are more in other old Marbles; nor is it any wonder, that in a remote part of Syria, where a different Language was spoken, the Greek should not be so pure, as at Athens; and in fuch cases a Critick is left to his own Judgment: nor is it a Difreputation to his Fidelity, or acumen, if he happen to wander, where he has no Guide.

Pric. in Apul. Apolog. p. 67. De fædere Hierapytniorum, & Priansens. sciunt doctiores usquequo huc progredi licet, scripta hoc genus non intra Lexicorum fepta coercenda: fatisq; de Interpretis fide, ac judicio constare, qui sciet, ubi legem lequi, ubi dare oporteat.

The Usefulness of the Journals and History will never be controverted, B 4

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when 'tis confider'd, that they give us the account of a Country, hardly before known to the present Age, and of many Rites and Cermonies, which the European World counts ridiculous, but will appear very ancient and defenfible: for no Nation under Heaven hath been so tenacious of old Ulages, as the Orientals. Of which I shall give a few instances.

That the Arabs should suspect the Europeans, that in those Ruines, among so many Sepulchres, they should feek for Treasures, is no wonder to me, fince it was very usual under the Foundations of all magnificent Structures to bury great Sums of Money, probably that the Coin, when the Building was ruinous, might discover the Founder, Talismans also being set up in several places to direct the cu-* Jamblic. rious Enquirer. Thus * Rhodanes found a great quantity of Gold by the Directions of a Pillar, upon which was pourtrayed a Lyon; and a like Story is related in the Life of Afop: And in David's Tomb, Josephus says, the High-

ap. Phot. cod. 94.

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High-Priest Hyrcanus sound a vast Treasure; but the Author of the * Alexandrian Chronicle avers, that it * P. 3642 was Hezekiah, who first open'd the Tomb to show the Riches of his Ancestors to the King of Babylon's Ambassadors, and that for profaming the Ashes of his Fathers, God devoted his Posterity to Captivity.

That they should account a young Camel dreft a noble Feast, will cease to be a Subject of wonder or diverfion, when we remember, that Custom is the Judge of good or coarse Meats, that every Nation, even in the civiliz'd parts of Europe, differ in their Notions of preferable Dishes, and that a Treat of the best things the Country affords ought to be reckon'd a Feast. To which we may add, that their Ancestors lived on the same fare; that * Strabo calls the Arabs of his time + L. 16. Camel-eaters; that || St. Hierome avers, | Adv. Jothat the Arabs and Saracens, and all vin. 1.2.c.6. other the barbarous Inhabitants of the Defart, lived upon the Milk and Flesh of

of their Camels, (and so says Abulfa-* Hist. a- rajus) that both * Aristotle and † Pliny nim. 1. 6. reckon the Flesh, and the Milk of † 11. 41. Camels, not only among the wholefome, but among delicious Meats; and that || Herodotus affirms, that the Persians of quality on their Birthdays, (which was a solemn Festival among them) among other Dishes, treated their Friends with a whole Oxe, and a whole Camel dreft; that * Apud. A- * Antiphanes says, that a Camel serv'd then. 1. 4. up hot was a Feast for a King; and †Lamprid. that the Emperor † Elagabalus (who was a Native of that part of Syria, p. 108. where the Emir, who treated the English Merchants, lived) in imitation of Apicius (who was no contemptible Judge of luxurious Eating, having spent a fair Estate in the Gratifications of his Palate, and being fince his Death quoted as an Author for all the Varieties of the old Cookery)

used to eat the feet of Camels, as an extraordinary Dish; and when he would appear magnificent, caused to be brought in at Supper entire

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Camels for the Service of his Friends.

Pilaw (or Rice) is another Dish among the Arabs, as also among the Persians, Indians and Turks, and so it was of old, fays * Strabo. The Arabs * Lib. 15. of this Age live as their Ancestors. who wandred up and down with their Families, and Cattel, and fixt for a while, where-ever they found Water for themselves, and Grass for their Herds; their Tents are now, as of old, made of Camels Hair, (the Camel is in truth the most useful of Animals to them; the Flesh is their Meat, the Milk their Drink, their Tents are made of their Hair, their Carriage is upon Camels, and their Riches a numerous Herd of them) they marry as many Am. Mar-Wives as they are able to maintain; cellin. 1.23. generally hate Drunkenness, and avoid it as the Plague; never make Water standing, nor ease nature, but in a place of great Privacy; and those, who are military Men, fit arm'd at the Table, and never put off their Scimitars till they

they go to bed; all which Customs Ammianus observ'd were practis'd a mong the old Inhabitants of those Countries. They measure their Journies, not by leagues or miles, but by hours and days, as the old Syrians did; impaleing is a Punishment usual to this day, and the Criminal is forc't to carry his Stake to the place of Execution, as the Person to be crucified anciently carried his Cross. The Custom of putting the whole Family to Death for the Offence of the Chief of it, (of notorious and hainous, as the Murder of their Prince, or the like) is not quite disus'd to this day in Perfia; and as Valerian, and o. thers were flead alive, so was Mare Antonio Bragadini, the Wenetian Go vernor of Famagusta, tortur'd by the Turks, when Cyprus was taken; his Skin being falted and fluft, according to the old Persian Method. And as the same Valerian, clad in his Royal Purple, with his Back lifted Saperes into the Saddle; so was Bajazet forc't to affift Famerlane, when he mounted. The

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The Men of Condition used of old to ide with a Banner, and fo they confinte to do to this day. A Present of one or more Changes of Raiment was Mark of Favour among the Æsyptians, Jews and Syrians, as long fince as the days of the Patriarch foeph; and the Habit (the Calaat) fent by the Grand Seignior, or the King of Persia, to any Subject or Foreigner, is now one of the highest Inlances of Royal Bounty.

In the Monuments of their Dead Arrian.1.6. the Persians of former Ages placed Alex.p.144 Magi to keep the Tomb; and in this refent Age the Mahometans give a Maintenance to a greater or less num-ber of Moullah's, who read the Law in the Moschees, and take care of the epulchres, where their Princes are inerr'd. And as of old they hired their Women Mourners to make a folemn Lamentation at Funerals, fo now the lewish Women are hired for the same purpose. I shall add no more, but hat at Aleppo, (as my worthy Friend Mr.

Mr. Aaron Goodyear informs me, to whom I profess my self indebted for many useful Notices) in the Month of June the Women go to the River, and with solemn Sorrow bewaile Tam muz, and afterward make themselves very merry; which is no other, than the practice of one of the oldest Su perstitions in the World, of which I shall treat at large.

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Apollodor. c. 13.

The Heathen Mythologists affirm Bibliot. 1.3. that Cinyras the Assyrian founded the City of Paphos in the Island of Cyprus where, having married the Daughter of the King of that Country, he be gat Oxyporus and Adonis; that Adoni was very beautiful, and beloved by Venus, when an Infant, who, that he might be bred carefully, sent him to Proserpina to be educated; but when she came to demand him, Proserpina refus'd to deliver her Charge; where upon the Controversy was decided by Jupiter, that the Youth should stay ! third part of the year with Proferpina another third with Venus, and the remainder

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mainder should be at his own Dispofal. But Adonis being pleas'd with the Charms of Beauty, chose to spend two thirds of his time with Venus, who passionately loved him; for which reason Diana being displeas'd with him, fent a wild Boar to assault him, by whose Teeth he fell a Sacrifice to her Indignation. But others tell the Story Vid. cyril. differently, that Cinyras lay with his in If. 1. 2. own Daughter Myrrha, on whom hep. 274. begat Adonis; but, being asham'd of his Incest, expos'd the Infant on the top of the Mountains, where the Nymphs nurst and kept him, till he grew a most beautiful Youth, spending most of his time in his Sports; at which Age Venus seeing him, fell violently in love with him, and chose him her Gallant; that this created Jealoufy in Mars, who turn'd himself into the shape of a wild Boar, and flew him; which, when Venus heard of, she gave her self up to the extravagant Sallies of an ungovernable Grief, and at last resolv'd to follow him into the Shades to demand him there; but

but Proferpina refusing to deliver him, they comprimis'd the Affair, that he should be half the year in the inferior World, and the other half in this; upon which Venus return'd very joyful, and having inform'd her Followers of the Agreement, they instituted a solemn Festival, which was continued to be celebrated with all the Demonstrations of publick Exultation.

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Plutarc. de Isid. & Osirid.

This Story, with a little Variation, the Agyptian Writers (from whom the Afiaticks deriv'd most of their Superstitious Rites and Observances) tell us, under the name of Osiris, whom Typhon nailed up in a Chest, (or Cossin) which he threw into the Nile, that it might be swallowed up of the Sea; that His, as soon as she heard of it, immediately went upon the search of Osiris, inquiring of all she met, till at last some Children inform'd her, what Typhon had done; whereupon, taking Anubis with her, she sailed down the River, and through the Ocean, till she came to Byblus in Syria,

m, ma, where she found the Ark (or he Coffin) resting upon a Sprig of Heath, or which she carried with her into the p. Ship, and so return'd to Egypt, and al, there hid the Coffin at Butis, where of her Son Orus was nurst; that Typhon for monting in those parts by the Light to of the Moon, which was then at full, ra- found the Coffin, and cutting the Body into fourteen pieces scatter'd it up and down in several places; whereon, upon Isis hearing of the Fact, failed . om up and down the Marches in a Boat Su. of Reeds, till she had gather'd up the tell featter'd Limbs, which she buried in om divers places, to prevent any further of. Attempts of Typhon, and to create Oile, firis greater honour. In the Ægyptian the Month Athyr, they say, Osiris was of fine; and on the seventeenth of rch their Month Tybi, Isis return'd from till Lyblus, having spent almost two her, Months in the search. From this Oon, riginal came the practice of the Æiled syptian Priests, who upon the first the of those Anniversaries pretended, that Sy. the Body of Osiris was hid in their ria,

Temples, where, no one knew, where upon they lamented him, as if that had been the very day, wherein he was murther'd by Typhon; they shav'd

V. Herodot. Euterp.
Jul. Firmic. Lucian.
de Dea Syr. Cyril.
G Procop. in Isai.
18. Gc.

and made bald their Heads, (the Custom of such, as were in the deepest Mourning) they thumpt their Breasts, they wandred up and down the Street

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making heavy Lamentations, (in imi tation of the Mournings, and Pere grinations of Isis;) and if there hap pen'd to be any of the Inhabitants Caria at that time in Ægypt, they flasht their Faces with Knives and Lan cets, (as the Priests of Baal used to do when their Idol would not answe them;) they cut their Arms, and ve ry often made Incisions into the Wound of the last year, not quite healed And after they had done this for fom time, (Plutarch (ays, for 4 days) the pretended to find the Body, which they had been so earnestly looking for; and on the nineteenth day of the Month Athyr, when it was night th Priests made their Procession to the Rive

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River with an Ark of Gold cover'd with the holy Stole; upon which, as oon as they had poured Water, the By flanders cried out, (evenyamer, ourvaigquer) we have found him, let us urn our Lamentations into Joy: After this they return'd and made merry, treating themselves with Cakes, whereon they stampt the Figure of a Seahorse, i.e. Typhon; and at the same time they wrote an Epistle to the Women of Byblus, that Adonis was found, (for he, whom the Ægyptians called Ofiris, the Phanicians and Syrians named Thammuz, fays St. Hierome, and Adonis, fays Cyril and Procopius;) this Episse they put into an Earthen Pot, lay the above-named Fathers, (xeegμού, Lucian calls it περαλήν βιβλίνην;) the Jews say, 'twas an Ark, or little Ship made of Reeds or Paper, which, after the performance of some (probably Magical) Rites, they feal'd and committed to the Waves, and of its own accord in feven days time it was carried by the Winds to Byblus, but never to any other place on the Seacoast

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coast of Phanicia: And when the Wo. men of that City received it, they put an end to their Lamentations, and be gun their joyful Festival with Dances, and solemn Feasting. As the precise time of the beginning the Festival at Byblus commenc't from the hour, in which they receiv'd the Epistle from Ægypt; so the exact time to begin the Mourning was fixt, says Lucian, by another extraordinary Circumstance; the River Adonis at that season, from its rise on the side of Mount Libanus, to its fall into the Sea, being all bloody, the Sea it felf also for a confiderable space being discolour'd with the same, (the Natives believing that at that time Adonis was actual. ly flain on the Mountain, and that his Blood alter'd the Colour both of the River and the Ocean) though one of the more inquisitive Byblians told Lucian, that the bloody face of the Waters proceeded from a reddish fort of Earth, which the strong Winds, that at that time used to blow, brought down into the River, and gave the Streams

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Streams their Tincture. At this time the Woman began their Mourning, (having first offer'd the Sacrifices of the Dead to Adonis, as the Ægyptians used to do) and shaved their Heads, (which, whoever resus'd to do, was by way of Penance obliged for a whole day to prostitute her self to all Strangers, and whatever she got, was to be spent in a Sacrifice to Venus) their Lamentations, says * Am- * L. 19. mianus Marcellinus being as extravagant, as those of a Mother for an only Son.

The Epistles sent from Alexandria to give notice, that Osiris or Adonis was found, are mention'd, say the Fathers, by the Prophet Isaiah, 18.2. Wo to the Land that sends their Ambassadors by the Sea in Vessels of Bullrushes upon the water; or, as the Septuagint more pertinently, Oual γκς πλοίων ππέρυγες — δ ἀποςέλλων εν θαλάσση δμηρα, κὶ ἐπιςολας βιβλίνας ἐπάνων τε υδάτω) and the mournful Solemnity by the Prophet Ezekiel, 8.14.

who among the abominable Idola tries of the People of the Jews

Εγείλ. in If. Is. διεξιωνεύεται δ δ Θαμμέζ δ Αδωνις; ità & Procop. in loc. & Theodorit, in Ezek 8. Hieron. ib. Stephan. π. πόλ. Αμαθές πόλις Κυ΄ πεκ αξχαιοτάτη, εν ή Αδωνις Οσιεις επμάτο. ον Αιχύπριος εν όνλα Κυ΄ πειοι, κ) φοίνικες ίδιοποιέντων δεγίων κ) Ιεδαΐοι δυσσεβένζες μετέλαβον. mentions the Women weeping for Tham muz: For from A. gypt the Superstition spread it self over all the neighbouring Countries, over Phanicia, Syria, and Cyprus; who challenged the mock Deity to their own; nor did the peculiar People of

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God, the Israelites, escape the Insection, but they also sell into the same Madness.

The old Arabian Zabii, says Ben Maimon, affirm, that in that night in which Thammûz was slain, all the I dols that were in the World, met at Babylon in the Temple of the Sun, who related to them what had befall'n Thammûz; whereupon the Images wept, and lamented all night, and the next Morning every one of them flew back

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back to his old station: From whence, fays he, came the Custom of Mourning early in the Morning over Thammuz, in the Month called by his name: the Month Thammuz, fays St. Hierome, answers to our June; and the Jewish Astronomers call the Sun's entrance into Cancer, Thekupha Thammuz, the Revolution or Period of Thammuz. The whole Feast was called by the Greeks, 'Adavia, or Adaviao μός; the Death of the mock God Agaviouds, the Search after him Zhang, the findhim Eugnoss. The Festivals having a place in the old Kalendar; in which Gruter, we find Ind. Aavigium, not Lavatio, 138, 139. as Vrinus reads it, but navigium, as it ought to be read; and in another Month Heurisis. The whole had its V. Macrob. Mythological Moral; for by Adonis, I, 1. c. 21 Ofiris, and Thammuz, was meant the Sun, who when the Summer Solflice was past, moving backward toward the South, feemed to have deprived the Northern Hemisphere of his Presence, and Influences.

* Julius

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*L. 2. c. 4.

* Julius Pollux fays, that the In-1. 4. c. 14. habitants of Phænicia called Adonis, Gingras, probably from the name of a Pipe, made of the Bone of a Goofe leg, which they used in his Solemnity, which made a very melancholy, and forrowful Musick; and they had a Dance called by the same name in remembrance of the first Inventor of Husbandry, who died in the Summertime, as he was hunting, and who is honour'd yearly with a mournful Song by the Farmers of the Country, (who at that time used to sow their Wheat and Barley in the Fields near the Cities, fays the Scholiast on Therocritus) accompanied by as doleful Instrumental Musick. The Custom still in use at Aleppo of frequenting the River at this Festival, I presume had its Original also in Ægypt, where the Inhabitants paid a peculiar Veneration to the Waters of Nilus, as St. Athanasius, who was born there, affirms; and Lactantius adds, that they worshipt the River yearly, because there Isis begun her search of Osiris. That In-

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That all this Pomp was older than the Jewish Captivity, the holy Writ avers; it lasted to the days of Plutarch, and the Astronomer Ptolomee, who mention it; (as do almost all the old Apologists for Christianity:) Julius Pollux enumerates the Ceremonies of the Mourning in the Reign of Commodus; and Lucian avers, that he saw one of those little Arks that brought the Letter from Alexandria floating into the Harbour, while he was at Byblus; the practice continued in Ægypt, when Cyril was Patriarch there, about the year 440 after Christ, and in Phanicia in the times of Procopius of Gaza, who lived above a 100 years after Cyril; and to this day is in use at Aleppo, as my honoured Friend informs me, and probably in some other Cities of that Country.

I thought it necessary to make this Digression, which is not disagreeable to my Subject; and if the Reader (whom I earnestly desire to correct the

the Errata, before he begins the Book) find any advantage by the Undertaking, I shall not think my time ill employ'd.

The

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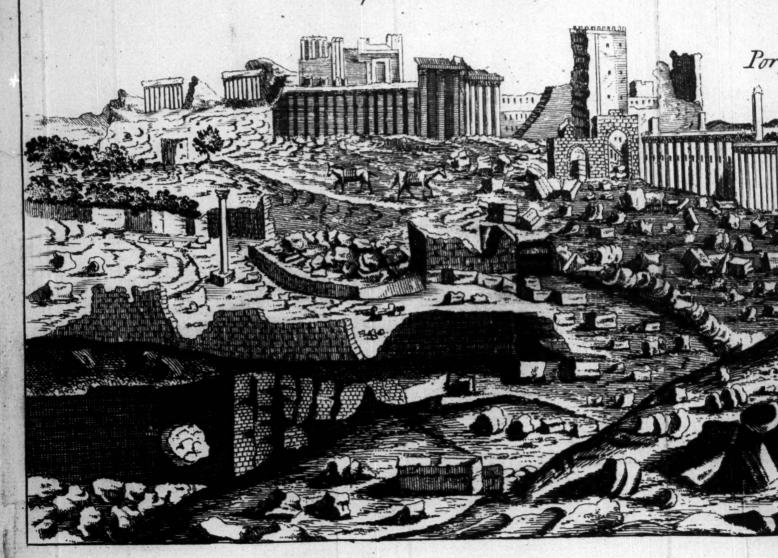
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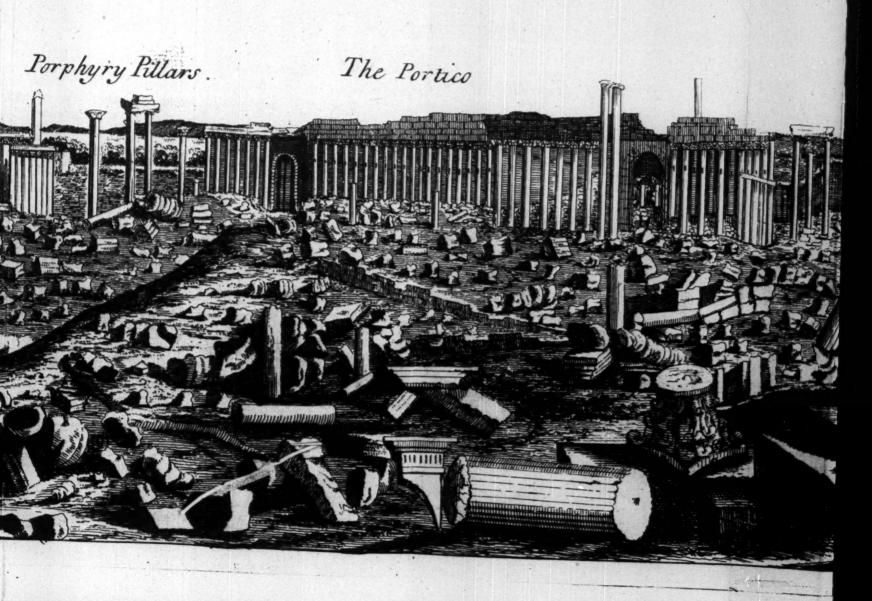
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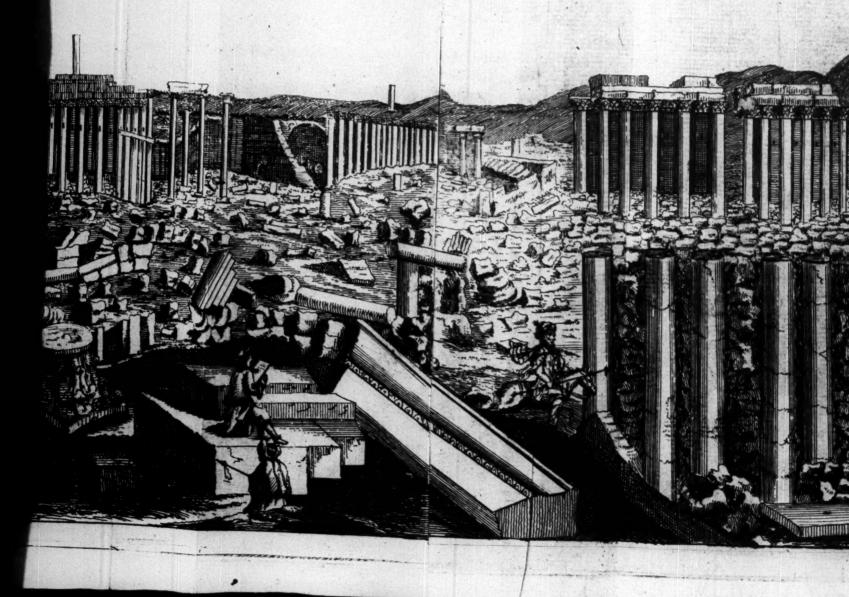
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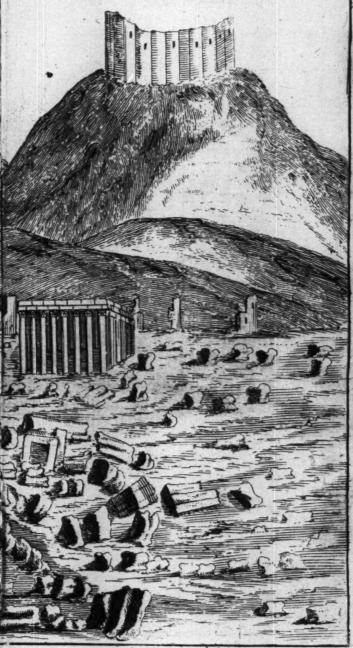


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oubliek and private Carefty, are ducible from f. B. H. Titable O.

HISTORY

OF

Palmyra.

Countries, and Strange Revolutions, have been always entertained with Respect and the pleasure of Seeing at so great Distance, and Hearing of dismal Castrophe's, wherein we have no other namediate share, but that of Wonder and Pity, is not to be reckon'd among the meanest Satisfactions of a Wise lan's Life; since every Turn of Prodence in a Foreign Nation, every new cene of Prosperity or Adversity is a session to the rest of the World: And

the best Rules of Behaviour both for a publick and private Capacity, are deducible from such remarkable Occurrences.

And among all the great Revolutions that have call'd for the Altonish ment and Commiseration of Mankind the feveral Fortunes of Palmyra are not the least remarkable; a Country far distant from our Region, distinguisht by Nature from the rest of the World by a separate Situation; and an Empire that in the space of Ten Years over-ran all the East, baffled the Forces of the Persians, subdued Egypt, and made a Afia to the Hellespont tremble; But a few Months afterward was ftript all its Grandeur, and by degrees to duced to the lowest state of Poverty, a Of this Country I in it is this day. tend to treat, of its Founder, and Antiquity; its Situation, and Plenty; its Government Ecclefiaftical and Civil; and its several Fortunes and Conditions as far as my Reading will affift me, til fome more able Critick shall undertake the Task; and I shall begin with such an Account of the Place as the Antients furnish us with.

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17 7Hen Solomon had finisht his stupendious Temple at Ferusalem (which better deserv'd to be reckon'd among the World's Wonders, than that at Ephe(us,) and the Noble Palace which he built for himself, in the Twentieth 1 King. 9. Year of his Reign he made War against 2 Chron.8. Hamath-Zobah, which had been sub- 3, 4. dued by David, but revolted; and having conquer'd it, he built Tadmor in the Wilderness, the Upper and Nether Bethboron, Baalath, and all the Store-Cities, which he strongly fortify'd with Walls, and Gates, and Bars; they being his Frontier Towns, and the Limits of his vast Empire: For he reign'd over 2 Chron. all the Kings from the River (Euphrates) to the Land of the Philistines, and to the Border of Egypt. From Tiphsac even & King 4. to Azzah: i. e. from Gaza to Thap-24. Jachus, which Was one of the Passes over the Euphrates.

The Arabick Translator of 2 Chron. 8.3. implies, that Tadmor was a City before Solomon's time, and that he only re
B 2 edified

P. 53.

edified it; that it was a Metropolis of old, as it was in the latter times, and had many Towns under its Jurisdiction: nor is it altogether improbable, those Parts of the World near the Place where the Ark rested after the Deluge ceas'd, being first peopled. The Arabick Hi-* Verf Poc. Storian * Abulfarajus, fays, That So. lomon, in the Twenty fourth Year of his Reign, having destroy'd the City of Antioch, built seven Cities in its stead, of which Tadmor was one. But the Fabulous Historian of Antioch † John Matela, averrs, That the Foundations of Palmyra were lay'd in the same place in which David slew Goliah and cut off his Head with his own Sword; and that King Solomon, in Memory of this great Victory, built

| Antiq.

1. 8. c. 2.

+ Par. I.

9. 185. & Par. 2.

p. 152.

Noble City there, and, from the Fate of the Giant, call'd it Palmyra. | Fosephus thus informs us, That Solo mon, after he had built Gazara, which Pharoab, having taken it from the Phi listines, gave to his Daughter, not fa from it built two Cities, Betachora, and Baleth, with other Places, to which h might retire for his Pleasure, that h might enjoy a temperate Air, excel

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cel· len lent Fruits, and pleasant Streams: From whence he past into the Desart above Syria, and making himself Master of it, lay'd the Foundations of a great City (which * he beautified with extraordi- * Hier. in nary Buildings) two Days Journey from the Opper Syria, and one from Euphrates, but from Babylon fix Days Journey. And the reason why he built this City fo far from the inhabited Places of Syria, was, that in the Upper Parts there was no Water, but in that Place only there were Fountains and Wells (as it appears by the Peutinger Tables, that near it stood the Gentum (a) When therefore he had Putei.) built the City, and fenced it with strong Walls, he named it Tadmor, as it is now called by the Syrians, while the Greeks call it Palmyra.

B 3 CHAP.

⁽a) Concerning the Names Tadhmur, and Palmyra, confult the Appendix.

Rom its Founder and Name, I shall proceed to consider its Situation As to its Situation, from and Plenty. the Description that Josephus gives of it, it is plain, that, though it stood in a Defart Country, it was a very Fertile Spot of Ground, the Air being very * Epist. ad moderate and healthy: For when * Lon ginus invites his Friend Porphyry thither, he encourages him to undertake the Journey, upon two Accounts; first, That they might renew their old Friendship; secondly, That he might recover his broken Health, by the excellency of the Air of Palmyra.

+ Lib. 8. p. 205.

Chron. A-

Porth.

† Ptolemy places it East from Alexanandria; (in the same Climate with Antioch, Seleucia, Hierapolis, Emesa, and other Cities of Alexandria, says the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicon,) in the Longit. of 71 deg. 30 min. and

lex. p. 82. the Latit. of 34 deg. the Longest Day

being there above 14 Hours.

The first Inhabitants of Tadmur, I conjecture, were the Sons of Abraham

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by Keturah; for they are faid to be fent by their Father into the East, Gen. 25. 6. i. e. into the East from Ferusalem, and the Land of Canaan, into the Defarts of Arabia, and the Countries bordering on the Euphrates, whose Inhabitants are called, in Holy Writ, The Children of the East; and were, for that reason also, call'd Saracens, that is, Orientals, or Easterlings, (as our most Learned Pocock affirms.) Now the Saracens are said by * Amm. Marcellinus, * Lib. 23. to be the Arabes Scenite (though Pliny cap. ult. and Ptolomy distinguish them) to whom the Palmyrenians were conterminous, if not the same; and for this reason, I doubt not, but Odenathus, in all the latter Writers, is call'd the King of the Saracens; though Zenobia, in her Letter to Aurelian, distinguishes the Saracens from her Subjects, reckoning the Saracens among her Foreign Troops In the Ecclefiastick and Auxiliaries. Notitia, it is accounted a part of Phænicia Libanesia. And Porphyry, treating of Longinus's Inviting him to Palmyra, says, He undertook to persuade him to leave Sicily, and to travel into Phanicia. Others make it a part of Arabia ;

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Arabia: but 'tis commonly reputed by Ptolemy, and others, a part of Syria, as Phenicia is another part of that large Country : though Zenobia, in her Letter above-mentioned, distinguishes the Palmyrenians from the Syrians, (as

*L.I.p.40. * Zosimus also does.

That it stood in a Wilderneß, besides the Holy Writ, and Fosephus, + Pliny, who was Contemporary with the Jewish Hi-5.21.7.583. storian, agrees, who thus describes it: Palmyra is a City eminent in its Situation, in the riches of its Soil, and its pleasant Streams, being surrounded on every fide with a vast Desart of Sand: It feems to have been separated from the rest of the World, and did preseve its Liberty in a private Condition between the two Mighty Empires, the Roman and Parthian; and as foon as any War happens to break out, it is equally their care to engage it on their fide, and in their Interest: It is distant from Seleucia on the Tygris 337 Miles; from the neighbouring Shore of Syria, or the Mediterranean, 203; and from Damascus 176. The same Author, in other places also, mentions the Solitudes of Palmyra; beyond which, y

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which, on one hand, is Stelendena (a Country not so much as nam'd by other Writers;) on the other side, they reacht home to Emesa; and to the Westward, as far as Petra in Arabia Felix, from whence to the Persian Gulf, it was all Desart.

It was distant from the Euphrates a Day's Journey, Tays * Josephus: Not * vbi sup. far from that Noble River, fays + Ap- + Lib. 5. pian, (for as soon as Marc. Antony Bell. Civ. threaten'd the Sack of the City, the In- P. 676. habitants immediately transported all their Goods beyond the River, the Banks of which they defended with their Archers, and so leaving the Town empty, baffled the Defign, and deceiv'd the Expectations of the Roman Troops,) but situate by a River that run by its Walls, whole Name Ptolemy either knew not, or omitted. other Geographers call it Palmyra, af- Domin. firming, that it had its Rife in the Pal. Marius Niger, Mamyrene Mountains, ran through the ginus, &c. Country, and at last emptied it self into the Euphrates, though now there are no footsteps of its course left: Nor is it a wonder, that a small River should be swallowed up in a long tract

of Time, of such vast quantities of Sand.

When Solomon built it, he gave it all the Advantages of Strength and Se curity that the Rules of Fortification in that Age allowed of; and it continued fo as long as it was a Frontier Garrison, fenc'd with strong Walls, and an advantagious Situation; but better guarded by a brave Garrison, the Mi litia of Palmyra being esteem'd very Their Archers were excellent fout. * Whi sup. Marks-men, says * Appian, and their Horse-men well armed with heavy Ar mour, and very secure, (the Army of Zenobia, faith the Historian, consisting of Archers, and Horse-men armil Zofim. l. I. Cap-a-pé,) who, not with standing the weight of their Arms, were much better Horse-men than the Romans; and such a || Value did they fet upon their Horses, that no greater Affront or Disgrace could be offer'd to a Palmyrenian, than to take his Horse from him. Nor did the Romans disdain their Assistance; for in their Militia with the Affyrians and

Moors, the Inhabitants of Palmyrene and

Ofroene were muster'd.

| Zonar. tom. 2. p. 237.

p. 44.

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CHAP. III.

DALMIRA was the Metropolis of the Province, and gave it its Name, being a Place of great Antiquity, and great Trade; Rich, fays Pliny, in the Fertility of its Soil, but much more fo by its Commerce; for it had not only the Advantage of its own Commodities, but was the Thorough-fare of all the Merchants that liv'd beyond it toward the Mediterranean, who traded to Forath, and Charax, and other Ports on the Persian Gulf, if I rightly under-stand * Pliny, who says, that at Petra * Nat. Hist. in Arabia the two Ways met, both of 1.6. §. 32. those who came through Palmyra (probably from Antioch, Seleucia in Pifidia, Laodicea, and other conterminous Places,) and of those also who came from Gaza, travelling towards the Gulf, it being impossible, but the Caravans, who made that their constant Road both to and from Persia, must help to enrich the Stages where they Baited. But this was not all its Happiness;

But this was not all its Happiness; its Inhabitants were great Merchants,

fays

* Whi sup. says * Appian. And Marc. Antony thought the Plunder of this City a fufficient Recompence for all the Fa. tigues and Hardships which his Horse endured in that Countrey, during the Perhan War, tho' he failed of his Attempt: They had form'd themselves into a Company, under a President and Governor of their own. (An East. India Trade cannot well be carry'd on by a fingle Person, though he were one of the Merchants of Tyre, who were Companions of Princes.) For I find in one of the Inscriptions, that Septimius Pag. 99. Orodes was honourd with an Illustrious Testimonial from (a) the Presidents, or Chiefs of the Merchants. And I doubt not, but they carry'd the Manufactures, and other Commodities of Afia, down the Euphrates to Balfora,

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⁽a) Μαςπυρωθείς υπὸ τῶ ἀςχεμπόρων, a word that appears in no Author, that I know of ἐμπορῶν, ᾿Αςχέμπορῶν, like ἐςανιςτικ, ἀςχετανιςτικ (Ετγπ.Μ.ρ.474.) or θεάρῶν, ἀςχεθεωρῶν, ὁ πγεμμῶν τῶν θεωρῶν, (Id. ib.) Those Governors of the Affairs of Trade were called at Athens Ἐπιμελιπταὶ Ἐμποςίκ (Ετγπ. Μ. Εν Ηαγροςτατ. υ. Ἐπιμελιπτ.) Their Number, says Aristotle, was Ten: Their Business, to Over-see the Ports, and to take care of the Corn that was brought thicker; for which purpose they had their ἐμπόςικ τῶ τῶτε, and it was reckon'd among the most Honourable Benefactions, to build such a Granary. Philostrat. Vit. Polemon. Smyrna. Τῶτε τῶ τῶτε ἐμπὸςικ δὲποιάθη, ἢ γυμιάσιον, ἢ θ΄ δξ.

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or perhaps no farther than Vologefia, Vid. Apand brought from Persia the Merchan-pend. dizes of India and Arabia, and so furnisht the Romans with Spices, and Silks, and other rich Goods: For though they are said to lie far from the Sea, and without the advantage of the River (which must be retracted, since it anciently had the affistance of a River, though it is fince lost in the Sands,) yet it must be acknowledged, they were not far from the Euphrates, a Noble and Navigable River, and had the conveniency of their Camels and Dromedaries, by which fort of Carriage all the Riches of the East were formerly brought into Europe by Caravans, before the Cape of Good-Hope was discover'd.

But Palmyra had its own Product,
Salt, with which the Inhabitants now
drive a trade; and Dates, the Fruits
of their Palm-Trees, which were not
only great Delicacies at Rome, and
elsewhere, (for Nicolaus Damascenus Plut. Symathought the Dates of Syria a fit Prefent for Augustus, and Phænicia hath
its

its Name from its (a) Palm-Trees, but was of the same Use to the Afiaticks, that the Cocoa is to the Indians, if we * Lib. 16. may believe * Strabo, who affirms, P. 746. that the Country about Euphrates produces great quantities of Barley, but that the want of all other things was supplied by their Palm-Trees; that that fingle Tree afforded the Inhabitants both Wine and Vinegar, Honey and Meal; and out of it they wove their Cloaths: The Shells ferve the Smiths for Fire; and when you have foakt the Shells in Water, you may feed your Cattle, your Oxen and Sheep with them: And 'tis reported, that there is a Perfic Poem, which enumerates Three hundred and fixty Uses (one for every Day of the old Year) of the Palm-† Id.p.778. Tree. † In some Places of Arabia Plut.ubi they are perfum'd: And those in || Syria, as they are most Beautiful to Sup.

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⁽a) The Countrey being call'd Palmifera, and the Palm-Tree plac'd commonly on the reverse of their Coins: For which reason, I believe, that the Tree in the Palmyrene Marble, that stands between Alagbelus and Malachbelus, is not a Pine, as Gruter and Monsieur Spon affirm, but a Palm-Tree ill grav'd.

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the Eye, so they are of a most delicious Taste to the Palate.

And the Ruines of its pompous Buildings yet standing, erected before it became the Seat of the Eastern Empire, are a further and undeniable Demonstration, that, notwithstanding its unhappy Situation in the Confines of two such Potent and Contentious Neighbours, as the Romans and the Parthians, it was once a very Flourishing and Wealthy Place, though now it looks like the Residence of Beggery and Famine.

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CHAP IV.

THE Government of Palmyra comes next to be consider'd, both in Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs. And first, in Civil Affairs.

As long as it was in the hands of Solomon, I question not but it was govern'd, as the rest of his Provinces were, by such Lieutenants as himself appointed is the Executives

* Ant. 1.8. of the feveral Kanpszia, whom * Jo-

fephus mentions) under Rehoboam, I take it for granted, it revolted with the rest of Syria, when Rezin became King of Damascus: but whether it submitted to the Power of Rezin, or form'd it self into a Commonwealth, as it was afterwards, or what its Government was till the days of Augustus, we have no Records. In his time, probably, it was govern'd by a Prince, or Toparch; almost every Town in Parthia, and the neighbouring Syria, upon the Death of Julius Cæsar, or rather after the satal Overthrow of Crassus, being seiz'd upon

Appian.l.s. Overthrow of Crassus, being seiz'd upon Bell. Civil. by some Tyrant, the Parthians supporting

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porting them in their Usurpations, having been invited by those Roytelets to their Assistance. But supposing that it had fallen under one of those petry Princes, in Pliny's time it recover'd its old Form of Government: for he affirms, that in his days Palmyra was (autovoju G., sui Juris) neither subject to the Romans, nor the Parthians, as F. Harduin well interprets the words (privata forte) of the Natural Hi-And * Aurelian, in his Letter * Vopife? to Zenobia, when he requires her to fur- Aurel. render herself, promises, that the Inhabitants of the Country should be govern'd by their own Laws. And of this the Inscriptions are an unquestiohable Evidence, wherein (a) the Senate and People of Palmyra are frequently faid to have erected Monuments to those Illustrious Persons who had deserved well of the Republick. And Septi-

⁽a) Ἡ βελη κ) ὁ δημΦ, &C. ΣεπήμιΦ 'ΟδαινάθΦ ὁ λαμωρότα]Φ συγκληπκός. ΣεπήμιΦ Αἰράνης 'Οδαινάθε λαμωρότα]Φ συγκληπκός. ΡυπλιΦ Οὐορώδης συγκληπκός, ἐβ βελευτής 'Αγείωπας γραμματεύς το β'. — ίερον ωραίπόριον.

mius Odenathus, and Septimius Æranes his Son, are said to be Men of the Senatorian Dignity; and Rupilius Orodes, both a Senator, and of the Council of State.

In the Reign of Antoninus Caracalla it was a Roman Colony, as appears by the Coins: But under Odænathus and his Sons it became the Seat of the Oriental Empire, conquer'd all Egypt, and forc'd a great part of the Roman Empire to acknowledge its Jurisdiction, being possess of all the East as far as Ancyra, and in a sair way to possess all Bythynia, as far as Chalcedon, had not the Natives taken Arms in behalf of Aurelian: But it is now under an Arab Prince, Nominated by, and Tributary to the Ottoman Port.

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CHAP. V.

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THE Religion of Palmyra, when it was subject to King Solomon, was, I question not, Jewish; but how long they retain'd Circumcifion among them, after God in his just Judgment had confin'd Rehoboam's Kingdom to narrower Limits, I know not: This is very plain, that very many of the Proper Names of the Inhabitants in after Ages are Jewish, and Zenobia her self (who by her Name appears to have been a Syrian, and probably of Tadhmur, for there her Father liv'd when she lost her Empire, though she deriv'd her self Originally from Cleopatra Queen of Egypt) was a Jewess. And 'tis not altogether unlikely, that Longinus, in Complaisance to the Religion of his Mistress, in his admirable Treatise of the Sublime, speaks so honourably of Moses and his Writings. And if we may credit Benjamin Tudelensis, even in his time there were Two thousand profest Jews Inhabitants of that City. In process of time, I doubt not but they blended C 2

blended the Jewish Rites with those of the Gentiles, (as the new Inhabitants of Samaria did, after the Natives had been transported by Shalmanezer,) till

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at last Paganism prevail'd.

After Christianity was planted in the World, and St. Thaddeus had preach'd the Gospel by our Blessed Saviour's own Order at Edessa; I believe, that Holy Religion soon spread it self into the Neighbourhood, even to Tadhmur, tho' Paganism was not quite disposses; as appears by the Inscriptions to their Country Gods, Alagbelus, and M. Malachbelus, Jaribolus, Venus Aphacitu, and others, who all had at Palmyra their Temples, Priests, and Services. It was very early an Episcopal See, if not an Archiepiscopal, because it was the Metropolis of a Country: but in the Subscriptions of the ancient Councils, or the Notitie of the Church, we have very little or no mention of its Marinus, Bishop of Palmyra, is faid to have subscribed the Canons of the First General Council at Niece; and in the Sixth Act of that at Chalcedon, John Bishop of Palmyra being absent, made his Subscription by the Hand of

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Hand of the Archbishop of Damascus: At which time (as from its being ruin'd by Aurelian) it held the rank of a poor Bishoprick, and was under the Metropolitan of Damascus: But in the Notitia collected by Leo the Wise, Edessa is the Metropolis of Phænicia Libanesia, in the Patriarchate of Antioch, whose Suffragans were the Bishops of Laodicea, Palmyra, &c. by which it appears, that in Leo's time, Ann. Dom. 900. it was still a Bishoprick; and when it lost that Honour, I cannot determine.

In the Roman Martyrology of Baronius, on the 15th. of June is celebrated the Memory of the Saints Lybia and Leonis, who were Sisters; and of Eutropia, a Girl of Twelve Years old, all of Palmyra, who by divers Torments obtain'd the Crown of Martyrdom. It is true, there is no mention of these Brave Women in the Old Roman Martyrology, as Rosweyd accounts it, nor in Ado of Vienna, but the Acts of St. Febronia, who suffer'd under Dioclesian at Sibapolis (perhaps Scythopolis, or the Sue iay 7 un. 25. πίλα) in Syria, mention them, as Perfons who fuffer'd in the same cruel Perlecution. It is plain, from the Inscrip-3

tions found at Tadhmur, that Dioclesian had been in that Country; and from the Church-Historians, that he rais'd a violent Persecution in Syria: And that which gave Rise to it, was in all likelihood that which Eusebius observes, that, a little while after the Christians of Nicodemia had felt the Fury of the Emperor, feveral Confederacies were form'd in Melitene, and other Parts of Syria, to seize the Empire, and to dethrone Dieclesian. Now, in every Infurrection or Tumult, the Christians were fure to fuffer, as the Authors of Sedition, though they were the most Peaceable and Loyal Men in the World, both by Principle and Practice.

Thus Christianity subsisted in those days of Persecution, when the Number of Martyrs encreas'd the Number of Confessors: But then Peace and Plenty were, by the Bounty of the Great Constantine and his Successors made the Churches Patrimony. I question not but the Followers of our Blessed Saviour, at Palmyra, had their share of the Prosperity which their Brethren enjoy'd; till the Viciousness of the Christian Morals, and the execrable Opi-

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he nripinions and Herefies that debaucht the Faith of the Orientals, subjected those once Famous Churches to the Mahometan Yoke: For as foon as Syria fubmitted to the Power, and acknowledg'd the Dominion of the Successors of that False Prophet, I presume, Palmyra was by degrees reduc'd to the mean Condition in which it now is; for perhaps, no one City hath run fo many risks of different Fortune, as Palmyra, though it hath hitherto preserv'd its ancient Name and Situation; while, of Ctesiphon and Persepolis, Niniveh and Babylon, with many other Cities in that part of Afia, it may be averr'd, what the Psalmist says of Sodom, and the other Cities which God destroyed, their Memorial is perisht with them.

C4 CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

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T is a very difficult Task, to give a just and clear Account of the several Fates of Ancient Kingdoms and Governments, especially when Nature hath seem'd to please it self, by placing them in a remote Situation, and at a distance both of Place and Communication from other Nations: And this is the case of Tadhmur, which was repair'd, if not built by Solomon, a Great, a Wile, and a Victorious Prince, who beautify'd it with whatever might afford it Strength and Ornament; loft, I take it for granted, in a little time after, under his Son Rehoboam, when, through his Folly, and God's just Judgment, the greatest part of his Territories revolted from him. I conjecture, that as long as the Kingdom of Damascus kept up its Grandeur, so long Palmyra was in Peace, either under those Kings, or under the Conduct of its own Senate: But when Pharoah 2 King. 23. Necoh went up against the King of Af-Jyria to the River Euphrates, and made himlelf Master of all Syria, I doubt not but

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but it was for a while subject to him, till Nebuchadnezzar conquer'd all those Countries home to the Gates of Pelu-sum, now Damiata. The *Fabulous*70. Males. Historian of Antioch would have the Par. 2. pag. World believe, that when Nebuchad-152. mezzar intended to Besiege Jerusalem, it was in the hands of the Jews, who had Mann'd it with a very stout Garrison; and that Victorious Prince, not thinking sit to leave a Place so well fortisted behind him, sate down before it; and when he had taken it, burnt it, and then besieg'd and took Jerusalem.

After this, it continued tributary to the Princes of the Babylonish and Persian Empires, though perhaps govern'd by a Senate of its own Citizens; and in the same State it remain'd under the Successors of the Great Alexander (the Kings of Syria) being united by Seleucus, I doubt not, to the rest of his Territories; whence, in like manner, as the other Cities under his Government, it receiv'd the Use of the Syrian Epocha, the Æra Antiochena, Dhilcarnain, or Seleucidarum, and the Names of the Macedonian Months, which the Inscriptions undeniably prove.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

* Bell.Civ. C TR IA (fays * Appian) was go-1.5.p. 676. vern'd by the Posterity of Seleucus Nicator, to the days of Antiochus Pius, and his Son: but when Pompey the Great conquer'd it, and made it a Province, it was govern'd by a Roman President: The first who bore that Office, was Scaurus; and after him, though not immediately, Gabinius. Gabinius was succeeded by Crassus, who being sain by the Parthians left his Government to Bibulus. But whether, in all this space of time, while the Roman Eagle hover'd over the East, Palmyra was a Sharer in in the Common Calamity, and felt the Talons of that Bird of Prey, we have no Accounts.

After the Death of Julius Cafar, every City submitted to a Prince of their own; the Parthians affording them their Assistance, having, upon the Invitation of those Tyrants, penetrated Syria. This incens'd Marc Antony, who expell'd the Usurpers, exacted heavy Taxes from other Cities, and attempted

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For when Cleopatra, who Palmyra. waited on him in Cilicia, was return'd home, Antony, who had given himself up to her Embraces, and, to the loss of his Honour, obey'd all her Dictates, commanded his Horse to Plunder Palmyra, upon the light and trifling pretext, that by reason of their Situation in the Confines of the Romans and Parthians, the Palmyrenians were firm to neither Interest, but minded their own Profit, and the Encrease of their Trade and Merchandise; but in truth, that he might pay his Soldiers with the Spoils of that wealthy City.

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The Inhabitants of Palmyra being aware of the Invasion, carry'd all their rich Moveables to the other side of the River, the Banks of which they lined with their Archers. Upon which, Antony's Troops sinding the City empty of Inhabitants, and of the Riches they so eagerly coveted, having lost their labour, return'd to their Camp. This Invasion occasion'd the next Parthian War, many of the petty Princes of Syria slying for Shelter to the Parthians, while Marc Antony, having been so sandalously soyl'd, stay'd no longer in Syria

Syria to settle Affairs, and quiet Disturbances, but hasten'd into Egypt to attend Cleopatra, to whom he had entirely devoted himself and his Fortunes.

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C H A P. VIII.

N this state of Freedom, Ease and Plenty, it continued under Augustus; and the succeeding Emperors govern'd by their own Officers and Laws, as Pliny expresly averrs, till the Reign of Trajan, when, I conjecture, it fell into the same Common Calamity with Edessa, Nisibis. and other Frontier Towns of the East (whose fate it is commonly to be harrast on both sides;) for Trajan having, in his Sixth Consulate, declar'd War against the Armenians and Parthians, upon the pretext, That the King of Armenia had receiv'd his Crown from the King of Persia, whereas he ought to have taken it from the hands of the Roman Emperor; but in truth, stimulated by his desire of Vain.

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Vain-glory, made an Expedition into the East, reduc'd Armenia, and settled the Government of that Countrey; took Nisibis and Batnæ, and was honour'd by the Senate with the Name of Parthicus, added to his other Titles. After which, he winter'd at Antioch, where he, by an extraordinary Providence, and with much difficulty, escap't perishing in that great Earthquake which had almost ruind that Noble City. After this, he return'd into the East, past the Euphrates, subdued all Adiabene, Arbela, and Gaugamela, and came to Babylon; the Parthians being unable to oppose him, having been much weaken'd by their Civil Dissentions. Then he past the Tigris, and went to Ctefiphon, and thence pursued his Conquests to the Ocean, where he declared, That if he had been as young as Alexander, he would have follow'd the Example of that Illustrious Prince, and have sail'd But while he was thus into India. amusing himself with his vain Ambitious Thoughts, the Provinces which he had subdued revolted, 'and seiz'd and murther'd the Roman Garrisons. WhereWhereupon, Trajan commanded Lufius and Maximus to chastife the Rebels. and to reduce the Cities to Terms of Duty and Obedience. In this Expedition Maximus was slain in Battle; but Lufius recover'd Nisibis, took Edessa, as he did also Selencia, and other Places, by his Lieutenant-Generals: Whereupon, to prevent their future Revolt, Trajan gave the Parthians a King, and fettled the Estate of the East (as * Vopiscus calls that Country, cause, in respect of Rome, the Sun feem'd to rife in Parthia,) and this the Coins confirm, which mention the reducing of Armenia and Mesopotamia under the Power and Jurisdiction of the Romans in this Emperor's Reign.

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At this time, 'tis probable, Palmyra was much ruin'd; for otherwise it would not have wanted the favourable Assistance of Trajan's Successor, who may be justly reckon'd their Second Founder. Hadrian was a magnificent Prince, and a great Builder (and for that reason call'd the Wall-Flower, a great number of eminent Edifices owing their Being and Beauty to his Liberality:) He it was who built the

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For a at Nicodemia and Nice, the Four Chron. A-High-ways, and that part of the Wall lex. p.598. that looks toward Bithynia: At Cyzicum he built the Temple, and floar'd it with Marble: And in many other Places he either erected New, or repair'd the Old Buildings, both Sacred and Civil. And in almost every City of his vast Empire, he left some Marks of his Magnificence. * Dio Cassius af- * Hadrian. firming, that he generously assisted all the Towns that were subject to his Empire, or confederate with it, of which he visited more than any of his Predecessors, a great part of his Reign being employed in more than one Progress through those spacious Territories: some Cities he adorn'd with Aqueducts, others with fafe Ports; upon some he bestow'd a Donative of Corn, or Publick Buildings; upon others, Money or † At Antioch he repair'd + Jo. Malel. Privileges. what had been destroy'd by that ter- par. I. pag. rible and furious Earthquake that in Trajan's time had almost buried that noble City in its own Ruines; as he did the Temple at Cyzicum, which in his own Reign had been destroyed by another Earthquake, and made it one of

of the World's Wonders for Architecture and Beauty, bestowing great Privileges upon the poor undone Inhabitants, which was the noblest Charity: He also re-erected the Colossus at Rhodes, which had been many years before thrown down by an Earthquake. Above all, he was a great Benefactor to the City of Athens, toward which he always exprest a peculiar Regard; as in Requital, they call'd him, while alive, Adrianus Olympius in their Coines and Inscriptions; as he was in several other Cities, after his death, Deify'd, especially in Syria; for to speak the Truth, and to be doing Good, were, in the esteem even of the Heathen World, most God-like Qualities.

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CHAP. IX.

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DUT the Liberality of this Munificent Emperor was not confined to Greece, or the adjacent Parts of Afia; the remoter Cities of Syria, who had fuffer'd so deeply during the War which Trajan made in the East, were not excluded from their share in his Bounty: For he had been a *Lieutenant-General * Sparts in that Expedition, and had feen the Hadr. dismal Effects of War, and Military Rage and Rapine; and upon the Death of Trajan, had made a Peace with the Parthians (envious of the Glory of his Predecessor, says Sextus Rufus, very maliciously,) having remov'd the King, whom Trajan had set over them, and withdrawn the Roman Armies out of all the Countries beyond the Euphrates; and because he was not ambitious to have his Name inscribed on all his Publick Buildings, as it was customary, he gave it to the Cities which he new built or beautified, among whom we must reckon Palmyra, † which, after he + Steph. had repair'd its Ruines, he call'd Ha. de Urb. drianople;

drianople; and (with the leave of Father Harduin, perhaps the Coin in the King of France's Treasury, and in Monsieur Patin, p. 203. with this Inscription, ADPIAN --- MHTPOHOAIC) may be ascribed not to Hadrianople in Thrace, nor that other City in Cyrenaica of the same Name, but to Palmyra, which was a * Pag. 99. Mother-City, as appears by the * Infcriptions, and by Ptolemy, who not only reckons it among the Metropoles of Cwlesyria, but makes it the Capital of the Province of Palmyrene, which had its Denomination from it. And it is not unfitly represented by a Woman fitting on a Hill: For Tadmor is enclosed on three sides with long ridges of Mountaines, the Castle being built on one of them, which commands the Entrance into the City: And to this City I would ascribe the Coin of Caracalla, in Monsieur Patin, p. 302. with the Figure of an Archer almost Naked on the reverse, his Thin Habit implying the Heats; and his Arms, the Militia of his Country; the Sagittarii of Pulmyrene being Famous in Hiftory.

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This City, I doubt not, but Adrian visited, when, in the Sixth Year of his Empire, he made his Progress into the East, and receiv'd the Homage of all the Kings and Toparchs, whose Territories lay in those Parts. And this his Expedition, I understand to be meant in the Inscriptions. In which Expedition, Pag. 105. Malech Agrippa, the Son of Faraius, was the second time the Secretary of the City; and when that Prince happen'd to draw near his end, and the Palmyrenians were in fear of lofing their Patron, their Neighbours of the City Tieve, three Days Journey from Tadmor towards the Euphrates (probably the Oriza of Ptolemy, as the Learned Mr. Halley conjectures) and a City of Pelmyrene, as Ptolemy reckons it, made their Vows for his Recovery, (as appears by the Inscription:) For in the Pag. 109. Last Year, the Nineteenth of his Reign, (not the Seventh, as the Æra of Seleucide is mistaken in the First Account,) Agathangelus of Abila, the Decapo-vid. Ap-

" litan, built an Arch, or Cupola, in pend.

[&]quot; the Temple of Jupiter, and erected " a Bed of State (or Pulvinar, usually

[&]quot; dedicated to the Heathen Deities) to " Jupiter

Spart. Hadr.

" Jupiter the Thunderer, for the Health " of the Emperor Adrian his Lord"; who languisht a long time before he died, and fuffer'd fuch Agonies of Pain, that he would fain have persuaded his Servant, who attended him, to have run him through; and when that Perfuafive would not prevail, would either have stabb'd or poyson'd himself. difficult was it for this Great Emperor to breathe his last.

But when Aurelius Antoninus had prevail'd with the Senate to have him Deify'd, and appointed him the Honours properly given to the Gods, with a College of Priefts, and Attendants to do the Service of the Temples erected to him at Puteoli, and elsewhere, (which Societies continued to the Reign of † Septimius Severus at Rome; but how CCCCVII. long in the Cities of the East, I know not,) and had instituted Publick Games in his Name, (from which Gratitude to his Patron, the Historian says, Aurelius had the Name of Pius given him.)

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+ Gruter.

The Cities of the East, in Imitation of Italy, had their Sodales Hadrianales also (and Temples, questionless, erected to his Memory) of which Samosata is an

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an undeniable Instance, where L. Fabius Grut, ubi M. F. Gal. Cilo, Præfect of the City, Sup. was a Fellow of the College of Priefts deputed to the Service of the Deify'd Emperor Adrian; particularly Palmyra, who gratefully commemorated her Second Founder, allowed of his Confecration, built him a Temple, and devoted fome of her Inhabitants to the Service thereof, as appears by the Inscription in Gruter; and by another among those vid. Aplately publisht, where he is called pend. Adrian the God; and I am apt to believe, that the little Temple mention'd in the Journal, was erected to his Me- Pag. 104, mory, as well as to Jupiter.

Such Societies were erected in most Cities of the Empire, to one or other of their deceas'd, but deify'd Princes, call'd Collegia Sacerdotalia by Lampridius, in the Life of Commodus, p. 50. and they had, according to their Rank and Dignity, their several Vexilla, or Banners, to distinguish them, called Vexilla Collegiorum, der Signa Templorum, by Trebellius Pollio, in the Life of Gallienus, p. 178. For as the Heathen Mock-Deities had their Iseopairum, so their Emperors, when advanced to that Honour, had their Sebasopairum, with all the Pomp and Ceremony that accompanied the Service of their Gods. (Vid. Gruter.)

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CHAP. X.

HE City having been repair'd, we may justly suppose, that by the Advantages of its Situation and Trade, and the continuance of a long Peace with the Parthians, not often interrupted, (except in the War which Septimius Severus made against them, when he took both Ctefiphon and Babylon, and reduced all Arabia, hamarcht through that Arabia ving where the Scenitæ pitcht their Tents, in which Country Tadmur lay,) it arrived to its ancient Glory, when the Emperor Antoninus Caracalla honour'dit with the Privileges of a * Roman Colony Juris Italici (for there was a difference between Colonies, all were not Juris Italici, as Palmyra was,) Colonia Palmyra it is stiled in the + Coins of that Emperor, a Metropolis and a Colony, in the Inscriptions; probably in Honour of his Mother, whom he afterward made his Wife, Julia Domna, who was

of this Country; but whether of Emisa (as several Authors affirm) or Palmyra,

Zosim. 1.1. P-4-

* Ulpian. l. 1. de Censib.

† Goltz. Thef. pag. ir'd,

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or some third City, I am not certain:
A Native of Syria we know she was,
for so says * Spartianus; and Oppian * Spartian.
her Contemporary, calls her, the Septim.
(a) Affyrian Venus, and a Moon that
(a) Affyrian Venus, and a Moon that
was never Eclipst, or in her Wain. The
same Poet, in the same place, mentioning the Destruction of the Parthians,
and the Taking of Ctestphon (as the
Coins do mention the † Victoria Par- † Mezob.
thica of that Prince) as do also the P.295.
Historians; in which Expedition, I
doubt not but the Palmyrenians, in Gratitude, Declared for his Interest.

This Honour and Privilege of a Roman Colony, Palmyra kept, in the Reign of Alexander Severus (for under him, the great Lawyer Ulpian flourisht) and affisted him with their Forces in his Expedition into the East, in the Fifth Year of his Reign, (of which Undertaking, || Lampridius gives || Vit. Al. fo august a Character; though Herodian Severi.pag. upon this, as upon all other occasions, 131, 133, upon this, as upon all other occasions, 134.

⁽a) 'Acriem Κυθέρεια, η ε λείσεσα σελήνη.

oppian. Ku-

^{&#}x27;Ефеситини Пордыте Nas, и Ктюровита.

^{---- &}amp; p. 7.

P. 97.

lessens, and would obscure the Atchievements of that excellent Prince. In this * Journal, Expedition, * Aurelius Zenobius being, as I conjecture, the Commander of the Forces of the Republick of Palmyra, attended, and was an unwearied Affiftant to Rutilius Crispinus, the Roman General, and discharg'd the Offices of a Man of Conduct and Courage against the Persians, and deserv'd the most ample Testimonials of his Bravery and Prudence.

Vid. Append.

> But Palmyra never arrived to such an illustrious pitch of Glory, as it did under Odenathus and his Sons, who establisht it the Seat of the Eastern Empire, and beautified and strengthned it accordingly; and for a few Years it afforded as remarkable Transactions of War and State, as any other part of the World can boast of, in so short a space of Time: And therefore I shall give my felf the liberty to treat more largely of these Affairs, and to deduce the Series of the History of the Imperial Family of Palmyra, as far as the Antients afford us light, and shall leave the judicious Reader to his choice, what Memoirs he will give most credit to, having





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having taken care in every Paragraph to produce my Vouchers; while I bemoan heartily the loss of Vranius his ('Aeasura') Arabick History, in the Second of which Books he treated of Palmyra; as also of Domninus of Antuch, whom Malela commonly follows; and of Philostratus of Athens, the Historiographer, who liv'd under Aurelian, and wrote the Transactions of his own Time: but particularly I regret the want of that Oration which Longinus made in Praise of Odenathus, and called by his Name, of which Libanius makes mention in his Epistles. which would questionless have given a more ample History of that Illustrious Prince, than all the jejune Narratives of the Roman Historians. But fince we must follow the Light that is given us, I shall first begin with Odenathus, then treat of Zenobia, and their Children.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

DENATHUS (fays * Orofius) * Lib. 7. was a Man of mean Birth and cap. 22. Original, (Odenathus Quidam, as he stiles him:) A Man of Palmyra (fays † Zonaras :) Of no Reputation, and + Ubi Infr. unknown (lays || Agathias,) till he | Lib. 4. made his Name Famous by his Con-. 134. quests over the Perfians, and other eminent Atchievements, which give him an extraordinary Character in the ancient Historians. * Sextus Rufus says, that he was a Decurio of Palmyra; which being a word of large fignification, may in that Author, I think, be render'd a Procurator, or Senator: And + Pag. 88. so he is stiled in the + Inscriptions, if Ibid. P.99. he be the same Person, Septimius Odethus, the Most Illustrious Senator, the Son of Airanes Nephew of Vaballathus; of which Order also his Son Septimius Aira-| L.I.P.36. nes was. And | Zosimus says expressy,

that his Ancestors were Men of Honour and Condition, having been in past Ages enobled by the neighbouring

*Pag.382. Kings. * Georgius Syncellus calls him a great

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great Soldier, and probably he was the General of the Forces of the Commonwealth of Palmyra: A Prince (fays * Pollio) accomplisht in the Art * Pag. 192. Military, and from his Youth a great Hunter, (Hunting being in those days, according to the most ancient Practice. the Recreation and Exercise of the most Eminent Persons, a Sport that bred them to great Hardiness and Resolution, and much Experience in War,) he beflowed his leifure hours in destroying Lyons, Leopards, Bears, and other Beafts of Prey, inuring himself to bear the Fatigues of Labour, to endure the Hardships of Heat, and Showers, and the other Toils incident to a Woodman's Life; and by these Methods brought himself to a Habit of enduring the scorching Beams of the Sun, and the annoyance of the Dust, in his Wars with the Persians.

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The later Greeks frequently stile him
the King of the Saracens, of the Barbarous Saracens, as if he had been a
Phylarchus of some part of Arabia:
† Ammianus averring, that those who † Lib. 23.
were anciently called Arabes Scenitæ, cap. ult.
were afterwards called Saracens, (but
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herein he differs from both Pliny and Ptolemy:) A Name (fays Scaliger) never used by any Author before Ptolemy; whereas Pliny, who liv'd at least fifty Years before that excellent Astronomer, expresly mentions them. Now the Saracens, over whom Odenathus and Zenobia reign'd, had been of old, fays Procopius Confederate with the Romans.

And as the Quality of this Mighty Prince hath been mistaken, so have his Actions been wrongfully represented: Orofius affirming, that he form'd an Army of the Boors of Syria, and with those Rusticks overcame the Persians; and fo fays Sextus Rufus. But they confound two Stories, if we may credit Par. 1. * Malela; for he affirms, that when Sapores had over-run all Syria, and had taken, plunder'd and burnt Antioch (which happen'd in the 314th. Year of the Æra Antiochena, the 12th. of the Reigns of Valerian and Gallienus,) he afterward ravaged all the East to Emesa, a City of Phænicia Libanesia, carrying with him, whither foever he went, Fire and Sword, and all the Instruments of Cruelty: but when he came

1.391,&c.

came to Emesa, Sampfigeramus the Priest of Venus, having collected a hafty Army of the Country-men of that Province, placed himself in the Head of them in his Priestly Habit; which created him Respect from all who saw him, particularly from the King of Persia, to whom he said he was sent an Empassador: Upon which, while the King was discoursing him, one of the Boors threw a Stone from his Sling, and hitting Sapores in the Forehead, flew him; whereupon the Army believing that the Romans were falling on their Camp, left all their Booty, and fled, Sampfigeramus pursuing them; and that while the scattered Persians were making their escape, Enathus a Confederate of the Romans, King of the Barbarous Saracens, and Lord of that part of Arabia, met them upon the Borders, and destroy'd the remainders of that scatter'd Army, as Domninus the Chronologer of Antioch affirms, to whom Malela gives credit; while Philostratus the Historian (as the same Malela confesses) who liv'd a Contemporary with those Princes, gives a different Account; That after Sapores had

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had made such great Devastations in Syria, had ravag'd Cilicia, and burnt all her eminent Cities, (Domninus says, the King went not in Person, but sent Spates his General with an Army to commit those Outrages,) as he was returning through Cappadocia into Persia, Enathus the King of the Saracens came forth to meet him, and pay the Respects of a Confederate, and at length slew him. But to set the History in its true Light, it will be requisite to take a short View of the State of the Empire at that time.

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CHAP. XII.

The Roman Interest in the East having been sinking for some years after the Death of Gordianus, under his Successor Philip, who was also his Murtherer, as also under Decius, Gallus, and Æmilianus; Valerian, and his Son Gallienus, were chosen to wear the Purple; the Persians in the mean time ravaging the East, as the Scythians over-ran and pillag'd the rest of

the Empire.

This Devastation continued for some years, till at last Valerian marcht against the Scythians, who had taken Chalcedon, burnt the City of Nice, and pillag'd and set fire to the samous Temple of Diana at Ephesus; and after that, he attempted to drive the Persians out of their New Conquests, Anno Christi, 260, but very unfortunately; for having engag'd his Troops in those vast Desarts, where the Rays of the Sun were very servent, and sew places afforded Water sufficient for an Army, and Forage and Provisions must be brought from

gat. Petii Patricit, p. 29.

from a great distance, Valerian sent Ecloga Le- Embassadors to Sapores, loaden with Gold, to buy a Peace: But the cruel and crafty Monarch knowing the necesfitous Condition of the Roman Army, and being incens'd, that Valerian, in his Letters, had not treated him with all the Pompous Titles which the Perfians Kings used to assume to themfelves, detain'd the Embassadors for a while in Prison, till he had gotten all his Forces in a readiness to March, and zosim. 1.1. then dismist them, with this Answer,

P. 32.

That if Valerian would give him a Meeting, they would agree upon Articles among themselves, that should be for the Common Good of both Em-To this Meeting, Valerian, prest by the Necessity of his Affairs, very imprudently affented: but as he was pursuing his Journey, accompanied only with a few Attendants, he was seiz'd on by the Persian Soldiers, and made a Prisoner; Sapores using him with all rigour and contempt, fetting his Foot on his Neck every time he mounted his Horse, till after some years he flea'd him, and so put an end to his miserable Life.

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In this Expedition, Odenathus, (who, during the Reigns of Decius, Trebonianus, Gallus, and Volufianus, while the Perfians had seiz'd and pillag'd Me-Sopotamia, Syria, and the adjacent Provinces, had probably join'd himself to to the Conquering Party, and acknowledg'd the Jurisdiction of the Persians, not being able, alone, and unaffifted, to oppose so great a Power,) seeing the Roman Emperor engaged in Person in the Head of a puissant Army for the recovery of the East, and knowing that his Ancestors had received many fignal Favours from the Emperors, Predecessors to Valerian, was easily persuaded to declare for the Roman Interest. But when Valerian was taken Captive, Odenathus bethought himself, and endeavour'd to make his Peace, having found the Perfian Monarch fo much Superior to the Roman. Whereupon, being convinced of the necessity he was under to smooth the Mind of that haughty Prince, he form'd an Embaffie, loaded several Camels with most noble Prefents, especially of such things which Perfia did not produce, and fent them to Sapores with the most submisfive

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five Letters, affirming, That in the whole War he had not been an Enemy to that Great King. But the proud Persian commanded his Servants to throw the Presents into the River, and tearing the Letters, he trampled them under his Feet, expressing himself in an angry Tone to this purpole, Who is this insolent Man, and from whence, that be dares write his Letters to his Liege Lord and Sovereign? If he intends to alleviate his Punishment, let him come bither with his Hands tied behind his Back, fall at my Feet, and beg my Pardon; but if he refuses, let him know, that I will destroy him and his Family, and ruine his Country.

What effect this sharp Answer had upon the Prince of Palmyra, we want Information; but I doubt not, he diffembled his Resentment, made the best Terms he could for himself, and waited an Opportunity to revenge the Injury; which, in a few years offer'd it self, when Gallienus gave him his Commis-

fion to infult the Persians.

To support the Opinion, That Odenathus was was an Ally, if not a Subject of the Persians, before Valerian attempted of the That Emp

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attempted the recovery of the East out of their hands, Trebellius Pollio affirms, That when Cyriades pretended to the Empire, he robb'd his Father of a vast Summ of Silver and Gold, and with it fled to the Perfians; and having infinuated himself into the Affections of Sapores, and entred into a Confederacy with him, incited him to make War upon the Romans, after he had engaged Odenathus in the same Design; that he took Antioch and Cæsarea, and made himself, either by downright Force, or the Terror of his Arms, Lord of the East; whereupon he assum'd the Title of Augustus: But when Valerian came into the East, he was slain by his Sol-This Allyance he made with the King of Persia (says * Tristan) in * Tom. 2. the First or Second Year of Valerian, pag. 25. in the Fourth (fays Mezzobarba,) and he reign'd at least two years, say the † Coines. But Salmafius will not al- + Goltz. low, that Odenathus was concerned in Thefaur. this Attempt upon Syria; but Odomastes P. 72. (perhaps Oromastes) whom he supposes a General, or a Tributary Prince to the Persian; though it is not altogether improbable, but the Prince of Palmyra might E 2

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might be engaged in this Design, not only because in League with the Persian, but also, because being an Ambitious, Politick and Warlike Prince, he was willing to enlarge his Limits, and to take the Advantage of the distracted Estate of the Roman Empire at that time, to make Additions to his own Territories. But when Valerian was marching into the East, and Cyriades was flain, then he bethought himself, and in good time changed his Party, and declared for the Romans: Which enraged Sapores, and gave occasion to him to upbraid Odenathus, when Valerian was made Prisoner, with his Apostafie from his Duty.

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CHAP. XIII.

HE Wings of the Roman Eagle having been thus deplumed, and the Glory of the Empire eclip'st, while Valerian wore the Chains, and daily fuffer'd the Infolences of the King of Persia, it might have been with Justice expected that Gallienus should have exerted his utmost Powers to release his Father, and set his Country and Subjects free. But instead of applying himself to such becoming Un- * Aurel. dertakings, which would have given new Victor. Cast. Life to his People, and new Lawrels to himself, (who had in the beginning of his Reign behaved himself like a Man of Courage and Conduct,) he gave himself up to all manner of Voluptuousness, and permitted the Commonwealth to be shipwrackt, inasmuch as he not only neglected to make an attempt for his Father's Release, (while, by the Barbarians, the neighbouring Princes, who were Confederate with the Perfians, Sapores was follicited with all earnestness to set him at liberty, and to make a Peace. E 3

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Peace, of which the Letters still extant in Trebellius Pollio are an undeniable Demonstration; while also the Iberians, Albanians, Bactrians. Tauroscythæ, wrote to the Roman Generals, promising their Assistance to redeem him out of an ignominious Slavery,) but fuffer'd the Goths, A.D.261. Tay the Fasti Idatiani; but Cassiodore fays, Anno 263. to over-run all Thrace, Macedon, and Achaia, with the neighzosim. 1.1. bouring Provinces, one Party of them ravaging Illyricum, and pillaging all its Cities, another invading Italy, and marching to the very Gates of Rome, while the Parthians made their Inroads into Mesopotamia, and the Syrian Banditti harrast the East, * infomuch as the Confiderate part of Mankind thought the World near its End, (and the sad Effects of those Eruptions were visible, in the Ruines of many a Noble City and Country, almost Two hundred Years after, both in the East and West, fays + Orofus,) while every bold Pretender durst set up his Title to the Empire in the West, who could defend his Usurpation with his Sword; his Father Valerian languishing all the while under a

Ep. 80.

* Aug.

P. 34.

† Lib. 7. cap. 22:

A DRAW

severe Captivity, till his Age and his Treb. Pol. Afflictions had cover'd him with Grey P. 175. Hairs.

When the Affairs of the Empire were Eutrop. 1.9. in this perplext estate, and their Inte- 5. 10. rest at the lowest ebb, Gallienus having p.178,179. deserted the Care of the Republick, fauntred away his Time idlely, or spent it ridiculously in the Company of Ropedancers and Stage-players, and laught at the loss of many a fertile and rich Province; while Posthumus maintained its Grandeur in the Wast, and preserved Gallia; and Odenathus in the East attackt and subdu'd the Perhans. when that senseless Emperor saw himfelf so miserably opprest on all hands, awaken'd by the Out-cryes of his People, he for a little while rouz'd himfelf out of his Lethargy, and look'd about him; and seeing all at stake, requested Odenathus, the Governor-Gene- Zosim. l. 1. ral, or Prætor, of Palmyrene, and Confe-pag. 36. derate of the Romans, (the Prince of p.235,237. that Country, fays Trebellius Pollio,) to drive the Persians out of the Roman Territories: Odenathus consider'd, that if he did not interpose, it would be impossible but that Sapores would in a **small**

small time, under so negligent a Prince

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as Gallienus, have made himself Master of the World, and that his own Native Country must necessarily have been made an Appendage of that Empire: and for this reason, as well as to revenge the Affront offer'd him in the Slight put on his Embassadors, he join'd his Forces to the remains of the Roman Army, who still continued to support the Reputation of that August Empire in the East: And in this difficult Undertaking he behaved himself with so much Address, and such an extraordinary Courage, that he humbled the Pride of the Greatest of the Eastern Monarchs in the midst of all his Glory and Triumphs: For he first fell upon the Persian General, and having routed him, recover'd Nisibis and Mesopotamia out of the Hands of the Invaders; then attack't the King of Persia with a Succels suitable to his Bravery; for as Sapores was returning home, loaden with the Spoils of Syria and Cilicia, Odenathus came out to meet him, as one of his Allyes; but under that pretext he deluded him, having way-lay'd Agath. 1.4. him as he past through Euphratesia (call'd

Philostr. ap. Malel. par. 1. p. 393.0 Zonar. Tom. 2. p. 237.

J. 134.

(call'd of old Commagene, fays Procopius; Augusto-Euphratesia, by Theodorit a Bishop of that Country,) so streightned him, that being to march through a Valley whose Ways were too steep and rugged for his Carriages. he flew all his Prisoners, and threw them into the Hollows, and by that means past over his heavy Baggage. After this, he fought and routed the Army of the Perfians, and made fo great a slaughter of their Troops, that Peter the Historian, a Man of the Se- * Deleganatorian Dignity, and Embassador to tionib.p.45. Chofroes King of Perfia, affirms, That when Sapores had past the Euphrates with the remains of his shatter'd Army, his Soldiers thinking themselves secure, by their station on the other side of the River, embraced one another with unexpressible Transports: After which. Sapores fent to the Garrison at Edessa, promising them to give them all the Money which he had plunder'd in Syria, if they would not molest him in his March, but suffer him quietly to hasten Home through their Territory; subjoyning, that he did not offer them this great Summ, as if he were afraid of them

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them, but that he might make the more fpeed into renfa, to selebrate greaty festival that he was near, not being willing to be hinder'd in his De fign. To this the Garrison confented. receiv'd the Money, and gave him leave to pass by the City unmolelled.

By this Victory, Odenathus not only preserved the Roman Territories in the East, and defended the Limits, but recoverid feveral Cities which the Perfians had usurpt, and made his Inroads as far as Grefiphon, the Royal Scat of those Entern Princes, obliging them to quit their other Conquests, to defend their Wives and Children. In this Expedition also he made himself Master of the Treasures of that Great Monarch shiand of what those Mings held more valuable and more precious than all their Wealth, his Condubines grand at the same dime he took many of the Nobility Prisoners. of This was fo Meri-* Trib.Pol. torious an Action, than the TRoman Hi storian confesses, That without this In-

p. 192.

3.123.

terpolition, the Intereff of the Empire had been untirely funk in the Bast! Add withat, he informs us, That Odewathin affumed the Name of Ming; be-

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fore he rais'd his Army, (though the Greek Writers allow him to have only been declar'd General of the East, an Honorary Trust conferr'd on none but Persons of the best Condition and Qualifications,) that his Wife Zenobia, his eldest Son Herod, and his two younger Sons Herennianus and Timolaus, acpany'd him, when (Anno Christi, 246.) he fought and routed that Potent Monarch, and recover'd the Territories that he had usurped on this side the River.

To reward these brave Services, Gal-Treb. Pol. lienus declar'd him Augustus, and his p. 180. Copart'ner in the Empire, (so that the Historians with great injustice reckon Odenathus and his Son Herodian among the Tyrants, as if they had been Usurpers, who ought to have been inserted into the Catalogue of the Lawful Emperors,) and commanded Money to be stamp't in his Name, the reverse of which represented the Captive Persians sollowing his Triumphant Chariot: The Senate, the City, and all the People of Rome, being wonderfully pleas'd with the Personmance.

This Declaration of Gallienus intitled Odenathus to the Possession of the East, while his illustrious Archievements prov'd him worthy of the Purple: And accordingly, upon his return from Ctest phon, he assumed the Habit and Style, and Declar'd his Son Herades his Copart'ner in the Empire, and Princeps Juventuits; as, besides the Historians, the Coins do fully declare.

d recover'd the Territories

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reward these brave services. Gat mob. Pol.

CHAP. XIV.

Denathus having thus atton'd for the Negligence of Gallienus, supported the sinking Fortune of that August Empire, and preserv'd his own Native Country in its own Quiet and Freedom, and behav'd himself with so dextrous an Address, and such an extraordinary Courage, that he humbled the Pride of the Greatest of the Eastern Monarchs, and acquir'd a great Reputation to his Arms; and having spent some time in settling his new Conquests,

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quests, (though he fail'd of his main Enterprize of releasing Valerian, who was, upon this Irruption of the Palmyrenians, flain by Sapores,) at the Request of Gallienus, he undertook to Treb. Pol. suppress Macrianus, who had, in Op- 1-192. position to Gallienus, Declar'd himself Zonar. T.2. Emperor in Phænicia, (though Eusebius ivers, that himself did not assume the Purple, but that he made his Sons Emperors,) and was acknowledg'd by the Roman Army under his Command. But Macrianus having baffled the Scythians, Zonar.Synand driven them out of Achaia, was cel. p.382. retir'd with his Eldest Son, of his own Treb. Pol. Name, into Illyricum, where, in a pitch't Battel, they were both slain by Aureolus, another of the Pretenders to the Empire: But Macrianus had left Quietus the Younger of his Sons in the East, with the Title of Augustus, under the Conduct of Balista an Experienced General. Balista was the Præfettus Prætorio to the Emperor Valerian, a Captain of rare Capacity, and fingular Courage, of great Wisdom and Foresight, and as great Resolution and Bravery; he was General of the Horse under Macrianus in the East. And when Macrianus left

that Country, he, with Quietus the lifa, Second Son of Macrianus, managed the ving of War with so much Courage and good Fortune, that while he attack't Sapares Othe . on one hand, and Odenathus on the oden other, they drove him to take shelter Bali/ in the Defarts of Perfia; upon which darin Victory they assumed the Title of Em-OF C perors, which engaged Gallienus against Purp them : Therefore Odenathus march't hors and fought them at Emefa, where Ba-Anti lista fell by the Sword of Odenathus, chafe Quietus by the Hands of the Citizens of very Emesa, lays Zonaras; while Trebellius Decl Pag. 116. Pollio in one place affirms, That after her' the Army was routed, the Soldiers ppr seiz'd both Quietus and Balista, and deded liver'd them to Odenathus, who slew flain them: but in another place he fays, The That the common report was (few bein Writers accounting for Balifta's Actions, that after he was Declar'd Emperor, while hon they treat more largely of his Perwe formances, while he was Præfectus Præthe torio of the East) that he was slain by Year a Private Sentinel of Odenathus's Army, Sera as he was seeping in his Tent: but in Ball Pag. 176. a third place the affirms, That the his? Army of Quietus, instigated by Bahapp

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Ma, flew the young Prince, and having thrown his Body over the Walls of Emesa, immediately surrender'd: Others (as he lays) affirming, That Pag. 193. Idenathus having slain Quietus, gave daring to trust either Gallienus, Aureolus, of Odenathus, Daffum'd the Imperial Purple. Nor does the Report want Auhors, that he was flain at Daphne, hear Antioch, at a Farm which he had purhafed, where helived a private life while very many others averr, That having Declar'd himself Emperor, he was murher'd by those whom Aureolus sent to apprehend Quietus, whom he deman-ded as part of his Plunder, having S fain his Father, and Elder Brother. s, The Accounts even of those Times being so various, it cannot be expected s, that the Writers of the present Age hould better adjust the History, while r- we are obliged to the Information of the Coins, that Balifta reign'd Three Goltz. Thef. 2-Years at least, and that his Name was P. 72. y Servius Anicius (or Sergius Anicetus) y, Balifta. Whatever his Fate was, as to n his Titles, he was an Illustrious Person, 10 happy in his Undertakings, and had a 4 a, fingular

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fingular Faculty in providing his Army with Provisions and Necellaries; and so well vers'd in Politicks, that Valerian acknowledged, that he had learn'd the Rules of Government from Balista, and that he was one of the most Provident and most Experienced Generals of the Age. But whether he was that Calliftus whom Zonaras affirms to have been chosen by the Roman Troops their General, after the Captivity of Valerian, and who, when he faw the Perfians carelefly wandring up and down, as if they had no more Enemies to conquer, fell upon them, and routed them, I will not determine, though it be highly probable, the Names being very like (Callistus, and Balistas,) and the exin this one Circumstance Zonaras is mistaken, who attributes the Taking the Baggage and Concubines of Sapores to Calliffus, which was the Atchievement of Odenathus.

When Odenathus had thus compleated the Conquest of the East, and wrested it out of the Hands both of the Roman *Treb.Pol. Rebels, and the Persian Usurpers, * he p.176,179 gave an exact Narrative of all his Proceedings

redings to Gallienus, and sent him the britan Nobility, whom he had taken riloners: And that belotted Prince had be confidence to triumph at Rome, for a Victories which Odenathus got in hipbratefia.

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Immediately upon this, Odenathus since with the a Captain of indefatigable Cou- wings, and great Expedition, engaged instell in the Expulsion of the Goths, who made their Irruptions into Phrygia, cappadocia, and Galatia, and threatned the East. But having march'd through cappadocia to Heraclea of Pontus, the kythians, terrify'd with the Name of the Illustrious General, retired; but as the was preparing to pursue them, he was most unfortunately and most bar-

parously murder'd. The Anger of God Treb. Polingainst the Roman Commonwealth being 1. 184nost visibly seen; because, after Valerian
was slain, be would not reserve Odenathus for its Preservation.

(a) The Photosph in Milele is to confust, and is facil a

Tomose of the CHAP and the CHAP and the the AP and the AP and

edings to Gallienus, and lent him the brifan Nobility, whom he had taken rifeners: "Xno that befored Prince had

he confidence to triumph at Rome aid white page of the proposed in the proposed in the proposed in the confidence of the proposed in the confidence of the proposed in the confidence of the con Death is differently related that the Historians parse in the main. Malelan (4) ester his fabulous work affirms. That he was flain by Gallienn + L.1.p.36. + Zafforus, That while he was at Amila, celebrating either his own, or form Friend's Birth Day, he was by Treaof Writers offert, That Odenothus, with his Son Megades were flain as they were about to purifye the Scythiges, who fled before them: That the Parricide who made the Affaffination was his Kinsman, his Brother's Son Mennius bably according to the Mode of that Time and Country Manning Ode nathus:) and that he for a few days after, assum'd the Title of Emperor,

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⁽a) The Paragraph in Malela is so confus'd, and is such a Jumble of the Actions of Gallienus, Odenathus and Aurelian, that I cannot but profess, I mould rather attribute the Mistakes to the Transcriber or Interpolator, than to the Author, though so great a Fabler.

e was juddenly dispatche by those was juddenly dispatche by those ery Soldiers who had been wheadles a cloath him with the Imperial Purple. So fell the most Unjust of Men his Relations, the most Disloyed raytor to his Prince, the most Unitaries of Villain to his Benefactor, and he most Profligate of Wretches.

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Magnius was induced to imbrue his Polp. 192; lands in the Blood of his King. his Re. 193. Ition, and his Friend; inftigated (lay Culpin.Calling) by Zenobia, who, to dispatch a fon-in-Law, that hinder'd her Children from fucceeding to the Empire of the last, (for Herodes, or Herodeau, was he Son of Odenashus by a former Wite,) was content at the fame time to see her husband stabbid. But more probably he committed the excerable Murther, being instigated by the most malicious at Tempers, and an abominable mixture of Envy and Ambition; this prompted him to destroy one of the best of Emperors, upon the pretext, that his Som Herod was a Man of extraordinary Sostness and Delicacy, (as Men who are naturally Kind and Good naturid,

are apt to be Effeminate. Voluptuous

and Amorous,) and because his Father had given tim all the King of Perfia Concubines, all his Treatures, and al the Gems taken in the War; Or father zonar. T.2. upon an old Grunge; for the fieres p. 237. Young Man accompanying his Uncle in his Manly Exercise of Hunting, prefum'd, the first of the Company, to throw his Javelin at the Wild Beath that was rouz'd and fieing reproved for it by his Uncle, that Honour being referved for the most Eminent Perfor of the Hunt) in contempt of the Reprimand, perlisted to gratifie his own Humour, and committed the same Crime a second and a third time Whereupon, Odenathus ordered him to be difmounted, and this Horle taken from him, (which was the greatest Affront that could be offer d to a Man of Quality in that Country.) Upon this, the hot Spark could not forbear exprefpressing his Resentments, and threatning Revenge. Whereupon he was confin'd: but in a little tillie, at the Intercession of Flerodes, Odenathus set him at liberty. But the Pardon was as uneafily

digested as the Affront, (the injur'd

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Offence; but he who does the Wrong, ever forgives;) for he watch't his Opportunity and Imbuid his lands in he Blood of both his King, and his Denathus was murther depended in the sund the idest Son; bosh Emperors, after Odes mehres had Reigned Four Years and Heredes at least Three, as the Coins that Odenathus wore the Purple former ime after Gallianus declar dhime Eins peror, before he affum'd Herodes do be is Copartners in his Government) raying his Crowmand Scepter by Right of the Bridge Grandfon Waballathus but invid. Apthe Rollession of and de Faste Ato Ze pend. whip and her Sons Herenvianus and getten himfelf, and all Prince undomil lifications; for he rejoye'd at his Father's Captivity, which clad all Rome in Mearning, and cover'd every Wife Man with Tears; and diverged him-Tred. Pol. 64 Kith Dec-plays Horse-races, and 1-176,182 the Combats of the Gladiators; in making himlelf Beds of Rofes to wallow in the Summer-time; and Beds of Melons to gravifie his Palace in the Winter; in building Caffles of Apples, and

Offence; but he who does the Wrong, never forgives;) for he watch't his opportudity Xand, And His Olands in the Blood of both his King, and his

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Denathus was murther'd the Avid bot Clariff and Parents was carely in the Sixth Year of his Reign ; Met which the Printer managed the Architecture to the War faire of the Barraccording to their own Will and Pleasure. Palebrah's 500, and his Coparemer in the Empire, Gallienas being out in the makes of his Vice. and to devoced to his Pleafares, that his in the Army, who feelf de have for gotten him; as entirely as he had for gotten himself, and all Princely Qualifications; for he rejoye'd at his Father's Captivity, which clad all Rome in Mourning, and cover'd every Wife Man with Tears; and diverted himfelf with Stage-plays, Morfe-races, and 1.176,182 the Combats of the Gladiators; in making himfelf Beds of Rofes to wallow in, in the Summer-time; and Beds of Melons, to gratifie his Palate in the

Winter; in building Castles of Apples,

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P. 184.

and beher Prules, and exercising his oble Courage in attacking their; in Miding out Methods how to Preferve grapes 1 Sound and Untalited three Years, and Wines always in the Muste. higs always Green, and Apples Ripe in Been born a Slave to his Belly and his Heafures. "He fpent all his time in flot and Luxury, in Wine and Women: lever would drink, but out of a Golden low! (despiting Glass, because com-mon and cheap,) and every time drang d his Wine: his Concubines fate it the fame Table with him; and at the next Table to him, his Buffoons, Parafites and Jeffers. His Cloaths were leveled, and different from the Habit of the Roman Princes his Predecessors his Hair powder'd with Gold, and his Head crown d with Rays; while his most intimate Privy-Counsellers were the Roman Ladies. And in this diffehite Course he lived till the Year of Christ, 264. when Odenathus undertook and revenged the Quarrel, and baffled and put to flight the formidable Polt, In which Year, it is very probable, the Perfian King, enraged at his loss of icriptions Honour,

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Treb. Pol. P. 184.

Honour Spoils, and Conquer'd Terris tories put Valerian to Death. Anno 268, Odenathus was murther'd and the fame year Gallierus was flain, by For thus the Historian states his Accompts of Time is Whereas Valerian and his "Son reign'd Fifteen Years, in the Sixth Kalerian was taken Prisoner by the Penfians; after which, Gallienus reign'd Nine Years, some say Ten: for its certain, that he celebrated his Decemalia at Rome; and ster that, overcame the Goths, made Peace with Odenathus, an Agreement with Aureolus, and overcame Postburgs and Lollianus. After which he was flain near Milan, by the Hand of Cerronius (or Cecropius) the General of the Dalmatian Troops. What the Quarrel was between Gallienus and Odenathus, and upon what Realons, no Historian, that I know of, gives any Account; but perhaps the Coins hint it; for in those of Gallienus, Amo Gbrifti 266, a year, and more bo fore Odenathus was murthered there often occurs Pax Augg Concordia Augg. (with two Right Hands joined.) "Tis HURO Mezzaparba understands the In-**Icriptions** Honour,

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scriptions, of the Union between Galienas and the junior Valerian; but be-ides that Valerian was not Emperor all the next year after those Coins were ampt, Anno Christi 2678 as Mezzo arba himself confesses, we never read of any Dispute between them; for the Younger Valerian was a Prince of excellent Temper and Modelfy in hut a Quarrel there was between Odenathus and Gallienus (as Trebellius Pollio lays expresly.) Much less can I interpret the Coins to have relation to Valerian the Father, as Monfieur Patin does: for long before this year, Valerian was a Prisoner in Perfiq, and probably murthered.

It must be confest, that there great variety of Opinions concerning the Age of Valerian; and that it is very difficult to adjust the precise time of his Death, which happen'd at so great a distance from Rome, and in a Country at open War with the Emperor, which precluded all Communication. But I shall endeavour to fix the Time, * Monsieur Tristan says * Tom. 3. expressy, That Volerian was born pag. 1.

An. V. C. 937. Anno Christi 185; and that

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生物。产品 P. J. Ball

char the was murthered an let 1973, Christizes, the very year in which he was thate a Priloner. But the whole Afferdon is precarious, and built upon the wrong Supposition, That he fived but 74 years, and was flead the very year in which he was taken.

Signior Meszabarba affirms, that he was flain se. 21. 77. But fixes no year either from the Building of Rome, of from our Biefled Saviour's Birth. The Writers of the imperial History of thole Thires lay only in general, that he lived to a great Age in the state of Captivity; While the Writer of the Chris witten, commonly called the Alexan drian, allows him to have lived but or years; but exprelly affirms, that he reignd, 14 years, and that he was put to death by the Persians when Claudius and Paternus were Confills,

Most of the Old Pasts averr, that Valerian and Gallienus reign'd 15 years; and to does Trebellius Polito; and that Valerius was taken by the Perfians,
Gallieno 7. & Sabinillo Coff. Anno
Christi 266. (as Idatius declares.)
Among all which Writers, there

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is great Variety, but little Truth; while its plain to me, that Valerian was live which Odenarbhs first took Arms for his Release (and so could not be put to Death the same year in which he was intended in Trebellins solling exerted the page 179. mutthole Vagetra and Areaded to nothing the But that Paletta Might recover this Liberty. And the Ame Author an Expicity evers, that Paler in Pag. 184. was dead before Odenating was man hered! The Anger of Gur (as he lays) appearing septer) whitest the Roman communication is That Lifter Valerian was flam, be would not fuffer Odenations to the Opinion of the learnes Monfette Parin, that as Pag. 405. Son as Sapures had experimented, to his cest; the Bravery and Conduct of the Ring of Palagra, and understood 198 Paleville to his Liberty, from an gheminious Slavery them his Rage PRAFFERED Him to the barbarous and inhumend Act of Orucley, A. C. 284; and if we may electe the Coin in Guar the he was Deiry'd after his Death. But The faur, chough of this Digitation ? let us return? 70. 10 Buobia. CHAP.

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is great Variety, but little Truth ? while its plain to me, that Velerian was since what beneath Art to So Arms for his Release (and so could not be Experimen Zembia (for 116 the was to appoint and solether willing of 179. her first Name we are whally obliged to the Coins) being thus left by her Husband the Empreis of the Bast in (for as the followed him in all this Wars, for against the Grebs, when he was affasting nated at Heracles.) and arknowledg'd to be to by the Army (after they had disparche her Ephemerous Competitor ners, profule Luxury, and an ungovernable Temper managed that val Empire with a Bravery and Conduct truly Heroick, and above her Sex and by the Affiltance of the wife Ministers and Generals Odenathus left: her, kept up the Reputation of her Government, and advanc'duit She was Prudent and Fair Learned and Stout : as rigorous as 43 Tyrant 101 those who were perverse and obstinate: enswert but humage and kind to all who were or tready to live under laws and Disci-.pidospline. CHAP.

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pline. She furpast even her Husband. who was one of the most iffultrious Personages in the World, in Courage, Magnanimity, and every generous Quality. To a word. the was an addroit Accomplish't Lady, who had all the transcendent Qualities that would create her the Esteem of the World, and render her worthy the Noblest Throne upon Earth, being of High Birth, Extraordinary Accomplishments, and the Greatest Performances.

Her Original was Noble, and the Treb. Pol. best Blood of the Egyptian Kings flow'd p.196,198, in her Veins; for the derive her felf from the Family of the Ptolemy's, and from Cleopatra; and had a great Regard for the last Queen of Egypt, whom with Dido and Semiramis the celebrated, as the Heroins of their feveral Ages; Zenobia particularly proposing to her self the Imitation of all Cleopatra's Illustrious Qualifications, while she avoided those Vices that eclip'st her Glory. Her Mother's Name we are ignorant of, but her Father was Achilteus (Zozimus calls him Antiochus) whom the Palmyrenians choic to be Vopisc. their Prince, when they took Arms P. 219. against

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To him Zofm s that Aurelian gave his Life and perty after he had made him his Nor is it the most unpardo rable Conjectures, to imagine that be vas the Father of Lucius Epidius Achil-eu, who twenty years afterthe Sack Palmyra being made Governor Egypt, took upon him the Im perial Purple, and maintained his Pre-tentions for fix years at the least, as the Coins expressy unform us; and at last, after he had been belieged eight Months serborn in Alexandria, was overcome by Dige clefian and Galerius, and put to death.

Id. p. 192.

Her Beauty was as Illustrious as her Birth, but Menly and August, not Soft and Efferninate: Corpolinis Capatolinus affirming, that the was the Handsomest of all the Eastern Ladies, (though Syria were famous for Beauties, more than one of the Roman Empressas owing their Birth to that Country:) Her Pag. 199. Face was of a Brownill colour, (and 'cis no wonder that the appear'd to at Rome, who in Polymene had been inured to march in the Head of her Army, on foot, several miles at a time, where the Rays of the Sun were fo fervent and fo troubledeginft

troublesom.) Her Eyes Black and Sparkling, her Mien Divine, her Charms irrefistable; her Teach of fuch an extraordinary Whiteness, that some Men thought them Pearls: Her Voice Clear and Malculine: And all her Shapes Regular and Lovely, only

And with her Beauty, the had Youth and Vigour; for after her Captivity, he was marry dat Rome, and there had Children by a Man of the Senatorian

Dignity.

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But all the Symmetry of her Face and the Beauties of her Mien, were not it to stand in competition with the more ravishing Accomplishments of her hers. Words flowing with a delpaid Sweetnels, intermixe with a becoming Raillery: The feveral Langueges which the spake, were like the leveral Works of a well-tun'd Lute's every thing that

the faid, was harmonious, and gave a to all who neard her, in this Qualification Zenebia flrove to imitate that Great Lady; the hid some knowledge of the Lath Tongue, but out of Modelly aled it not at but the spakes Greek, and the Language of Egypt, in perfection to And

Plut. M. Anton. P. 1698. 6 paff: edit. Steph.

> * Pol. P. 199.

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Sparkling, her Mien Divine, her Charms brechflacht VX Teq har Helpan extraordmany Wintenets, that fome Men

Plut. M. Anton. p. 1698. de pass. edit. Steph.

Er Ancestor Cleopatra was a Lady of great Wir, and many Languages; to that the feldom made ufe of all interpreter, but her felf answered all Foreigners that petition'd her in their dytes, Jews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes and Parthians; whereas her Predecelfors hardly understood the Speech of their dwn Country, the Greek and the Coptick; and all this variety was recommended by a charming Delivery; her Words flowing with a delicate Sweetness, intermixt with a becoming Raillery: The several Languages which she spake, were like the several Notes of a well-tun'd Lute; every thing that the faid, was harmonious, and gave a new pleasure to all who heard her. And in this Qualification * Zenobia strove to imitate that Great Lady; she had some knowledge of the Latin Tongue, but out of Modesty used it not: but she spake Greek, and the Language of Egypt, in perfection: And fo

* Pol.

to well skill'd was the in the Alexandrian and Oriental Histories, that she is faid to have written an Epitome of them; and the was also acquainted with as much of the Roman Affairs, as were treated of in Greek. And though he understood other Tongues more accurately than the Latin, and thought t not worth her while to be a Critick in it; yet the commanded her Sons to hure themselves to the Language of Rome, rather than that of Greece, (which they spake but seldom, and with some difficulty,) defigning them probably, in her ambitious Thoughts, for the Government of that proud City, as the already declared them Emperors ; to which end the had provided her felf of a pompous Chariot, in which the intended to have made her triumphant Entry into the Capital of the World, as a Conqueror; while it happen'd that the was carry'd in the fame Vopifc.p.200 Chariot a Captive into that haughty City.

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And as the was very Learned her left, so she became a declared Patroness of Arts, and a Favourer of Scholars. Linginus (the best Critick of the Age

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he livid in and perhaps of any Age and a Philosopher of unquestionable Reputation) fix'd his Residence at the Court of this Heroick Empres, was admitted to a hare in our Councils taught her Greek and was probably made the Governor of her Sons: And could Longinus have perfuaded Porphyry, whom by Letter he canneftly invited to Ralmyra (with the Queen's Allowance, doubt not) that admirable Plan East renist had taffed of her Bounty. as did Paulus of Sampfata, and other Votaries of Learning in that Age and available

* Id.p.198. Sec. Salmas. correctionem.

Her Magnificence went an equipage lie p with her Dearning and her Charms From the Coins it appears, that the fee took the Name of Augusta, managing trop the Empire not only in her Son's Name ich (as the Historian fays) but in her own with And while Gallienus was fauntring in a Rame among Fidlers and Players, the are. kept the State of a Persian Monarch Ac built a City on the Banks of the River fier Euphrates, toward the West, five Mile tofe from the Caltle of Mambri, nearer to innit the Roman Territories, but three Day to Journey from Circefium, which the than: call

call'd byther own Name, Zenobia; which, Procop. when in after Ages it fell into decay, c. 5. p.97. was repair'd, fortify'd and beautify'd & de A. by Justinian; and the Place where the diffic. 1. 2. Emperor Aurelian gave her a House at 43. Tivoli, thought it felf happy to change y is old Name for that of this magnificent Princess.

Her Court was pompous, her Grandeur eminent, the was ador'd like the a Eastern Kings, and her Treats were as es Roman Emperors. She usually wore the Royal Robe, and a Diadem; but go when the made a Speech to her Army, and appear'd like the fecond Pallas. Her Cimar was of ing wple trimm'd round the Edges with me ich Gerns, and clasp'd in the middle which a large sparkling Diamond, instead in a Button; her Arm being often the large.

y,

ch At her Feafts the was ferv'd in Gold the late, enchaft with Precious-stones, dile the manner of Cleopatra; and dile the to be attended rather by elderly reconnects, than Women. And the part Day of bore in the Triumph of Aurelian than which Rome never faw any thing calle 1901

G 2 more

more Pompous) though it demonstrated her great Misfortune, yet was fuited to her magnificent Temper; for she was loaded with Gems of the greatest Magnitude and Value, probably the Spoils of her own Cabinet: which, though she were a Lady of a vigorous Constitution, much incommoded her, during the Cavalcade Her Feet and Hands were chain'd with Golden Fetters; and her Necklad was a massie Gold Chain, the end of which was held up by a Perfian Buffoon.

She was Chaste to a Miracle, (and in this fhe differ'd from her Ancestor the Queen of Egypt, whose Lewdness blemish her other Accomplishments,) inasmuc as the never enjoy'd her Husband's Com pany, but for the fake of Children and as foon as the found the had Con ceiv'd, she retir'd, according to the Custom of the Jews, of whom * Clemen of Alexandria gives the same Cha racter.

* Padag. 1. 2. c.12.

> And in the midst of all her Plenty her Temperance was admirable, bein always fober; though fometimes for used to drink with her Captains, t ingratiat

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ingratiate her self to them; and at other times, with the Armenians and Persians, the better to dive into their Secrets.

Upon all Occasions she was very Liberal, and yet managed her Largesses with great Prudence; and took more care of her Revenues, than most Monarchs usually do: And this appear'd by the vast Summs found in her Cossers, when she fell into the Hands of Aurelian.

CHAP. XIX.

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Zenobia's Religion was at first phot. Cod.
Pagan; but she forsook the Heaσξί. pag.
then Polytheism, and became a Jewels,
by whose Persuasions, I know not, (for
Philastrius was certainly in a Dream,
when he aver'd, That Paulus of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, being a Judaizing Christian, and a Teacher of the
Necessity of Circumcision, and other
Mosaical Rites, persuaded her to turn
Jew: Nor can I acquit Monsieur Tristan

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of

Tom. 3. p. 203.

of Inadvertency, when he grotes Phan tius. That Odenathus also quitted the Idolatry in which he had been bred; and turn'd Jew probably upon the Berfuafions of his Wife a and what the he is reason to believe, these both of them were converted by Raules of Samofara to Christianity in for all than he faxe, is without Authority, and groundles. But not with standing her Religion, the behav'd her self with great Temper and Meekness towards the Christians her Subjects, neither endeavouring to compell their Consciences, nor to seize their Churches. She was a Hater of Persecution, though she were a New Convert, (and flich Persons are generally very warm, and acted by an extraor-dinary Zeal,) and though the was of a Religion whose Proselytes have always been Haters of all who differ from them in Principles; for * St. Athanafus fays, That the was fo Just to the Chu-

* Epist. ad Solitat.

stians, as not to convert their Churches into Synagogues on the

It is the common Opinion, that the Niceph. 1.6. was in a fair way to have embracid t. 27. Christianity, if the had faln into good Hands; that Paulus of Samofara, the

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Patriarch, of Astrock, undertook the Province, and took great pains therein, (Zenthia being an excellent Disputant) -... and identicably skilled in Controverses) but having unhappily fallen into the Herefe of Artemon, he infus'd into her Mind very mean Notions of our Bleffed Saviour. That he was a meer Man. and not of the same Nature with God the Pather wand that this occasion'd his Deposition, and probably the loss of his defign'd Disciple. But it is almost indisputably certain, that all this fair Story is built on a Miltake of the words of Theodorit, who only fays, That Paulso fell into the Herefie of Ar. Lib. 2. de temoh; and affirm'd, That our Saviour Harisib. was only a meer Man ; by this means designing to ingraviate himself with and to flatter Zenobia, who was a vid. Valef. Jewels and fo would not allow Jefus in Euseb. to ber Godnailarus or blisagus bonve 1.7. c.30.

le is plain from the Ecclefiaftick Hiflorians that the had a great regard for Paul, that the made him her Ducenarius, or Procurator at Antioch; and that he affected rather to be called by that Title, than that of Bishop, being a haughry Man, and a Lover of Secular GranGrandeur; but for his Herefie, and his

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Euseb. 1.7.

vain and disallowable Morals, he was condemn'd by a Synod at Antioch, Anno Christi 166, and the 12th Year of Gallienus, in which year Dionyfius Bishop of Alexandria died: But the proud Patriarch, Supported by his powerful Patroness, despised the Determination of the Synod. Whereupon, the Catholick Prelates, after Aurelian, the declar'd Enemy of Zenobia, had affum'd the Purple, call'd a Second Synod, depos'd the Heretick, and fill'd the See with Domnus, Son of his Predecessor Demetrianus: But though Condemn'd by two Syriods, the Heretick maintain'd his pretended Title to his Jurisdiction, and kept the Possession of his Episcopal Palace and Revenues, though his Throne were possess'd by a more Orthodox Prelate. Whereupon, the Synod appeal'd to Aurelian, who order'd Paul to be Ejected by the Secular Power. So well affected was that Emperor towards the Christian Churchat that time, tho' afterwards he chang'd his Behaviour. And it is not the most groundless of Conjectures, that Aurelian was so ready to serve the Orthodox egainst against the Heretick; because Paul was a Favorite and Dependant of Zemobia his Enemy, while the Catholicks
were his Friends, and good Subjects.

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General. She accompany'd Odenathus A ND how, having accounted for her Religion, I shall adventure to describe her Course of Life, and Practifes. She used her self to all forts of becoming Manly Exercise; and flewid, upon all Occasions, a Hardiness above that of her loft Sex. She often rode on Horse-back, commonly in a Chariot, feldom was carry'd in a Chair, and very frequently march'd three or Treb. Pol. four miles on foot in the Head of her 1. 192. Army, having inur'd her self to bear the Fatigues of War, the Scorchings of the Sun, and the parch't Sands of the Defarts: For her Education was like that of her Husband's; and in the opinion of some very good Judges, the Wife

wife was the braver of the two, the most Couragious, as well as the Pairest of her Sex. She often arm of her Mend with a Calque, and as often affilied at her Councils of War; and such an esteem she had of true Magnanmity, that she told Aurelian, That she accounted Gallienus and Aureolus Milksops, but she esteem'd him qualify'd to make an Emperor of the World; because he was a Stout and Adventurous General. She accompany'd Odenathus in all his Expeditions, and was with him when he so successfully attempted the Persians.

The Perhans, it must be confest, used to earry their Wives with them into the Field, that rather for Show and Magnificence, that they might enjoy the pleasure of seeing a fierce Battle fought, and be exempt from all the Hazards of it; but Zenobia went into the Field as a great General, and had her share in the Dangers of the Engagement.

And this part of her August Chath. p. 198. racter her Enciny Amelian gave her:
For when it was objected to him, That
he made a mighty bullleabout a Triffe,
when he triumph't over an unfortunate

Woman:

Woman I all bithe told the Senate "That they knew not the Accomplish-" ments of that Great Bady , That the was Prodent and Politick in het 5 Councils, and Constant to Her Refor Solutions That the had an effire and "undifputed Power over her Army was very Liberal, when Necestry "required, and very Sharp, when Se " veriey was requifite? That it was by her Conduct, that Odenatous over-" came the Perfians, put Sapores to Highe, and march to the Walls of " Ctefiphon!; That the made all the East, " and all Egypt cremble, when neither the Acabs, nor the Saracens, nor the Armeniaus could affright them; and " and that he gave her her Life, upon the prospect that such an extraordi-Sparyd Heroine, who could preferve "and manage the valt Empire of the " East for her felf and Children, would She of great Advantage to the Com "monwealth, and teach the Romans the Rules of Conduct and Governthis is reported by only one Hitham:"

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To make good this Character, and to let the World fee how well the Delicate Sex might be accomplishe for Rule

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and Dominion, she told the Emperor, That if she had succeeded in her Attempt, she design'd to have constituted Victoria, the Wife of Victoriaus, another brave Lady of that Age (who had made more than one Emperor, and took to her self the Title of Augusta, and is stiled in the Coins and Historians, Mater Castrorum) her Companion in the Royal Dignity, and between them they would have divided the Empire of the World.

The only Fault which I find her charg'd with (except her Fear, when the fell into the Hands of Aurelian, which prompted her to discover all her Friends and Affistants to that cruel Prince, who presently murther'd them. for in this the fell beneath the Great Cleopatra,) was her dislike of her Sonin-Law Herodes, whom Odenathus had begotten on a former Wife, and that the confented to his murther, that the Empire might devolve on her own Sons, Heremianus and Timolans. But this is reported by only one Historian; and I cannot believe, that to rid her hands of a Son-in-Law, the would confent to the Parricide of her Husband, whom bas

whom she lov'd so dearly, and who so well deserv'd it; for they both sell at the same time, and by the same Hand. But Diamonds have their Flaws; and the richest Metals, some Alloy.

I have thus endeavoured to set this Heroine in a true Light; for it would not have been just, to treat a Princess of such rare Endowments both of Mind and Body (who was the Ornament of her Sex, and the Wonder of the Age she liv'd in, reverenc'd over all the East, and admir'd even at Rome by her bitterest Adversaries) with a meager and jejune Character, though the best Descriptions, even of the ancient Writers, fall below her Merit. And now I shall proceed to a more particular Account of her Atchievements.

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CHAP. XXI

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whom the lov'd to dearly, and who to

Treb. Pol. D:180,197.

Devathus and Herodian being Dain, Zenobia, during the Minormy of her two Sons (who were left very young) Herennianus and Timolaus, whom the declar'd Principes Juventution & Augusti, took upon her the Em-* Pag. 430. pire, (Monfigur Patin fays, * That Gallienus gave her the Title of Empreß. but without Proof: but whether it was given her, or the affum'd it, Theodorit and Nicephorus Callifti are much mis Caken, who call her only the Toparch of the Country, and affirm, that the ow'd her Dominion and Territory to the Persians, who having overcome the Romans, gave her the Government of Syria and Phænice,) and she manag'd it not like a Woman, nor only better than Gallienus, but with more Courage and better Conduct than many famous Emperors, and gave Gallienus a Specimen of her Abilities, in a few Months after fhe had undertook to weild her Scepter. For when the News of Odenathus's Murther was brought to Rome, the Emperor, who

who had fome Courage (for he was an odd mixture of Softmes and Hardines) made Preparations of War, though very late, against the Persians, to revenge his Fathers iggominious and barbarous Death; and to this end, fent an Army under Heraclianus the Brefectus Rreterio, a famous General, and a true Lover of his Country, into the East. But Zenebia, jealous of his Defign, and refolv'd neither to dethrone her Sons, nor to devest her self of the Imperial Purple, and acknowledge the Roman Authority, met him upon the Borders of Rersia, sought bim, and routed and destroyed his whole Army. This General Heraclian, * Cuspinian calls * Cass. Herodian, by a great Mistake, affirm. 1.74. ing, that he was the Governor of Gallia (Dux Gallie;) and that he was oppos'd by Zenabia, because he made the Expedition into Renfia without her Emperor, whereon

Heraclianus, upon his return from zofim. Las. this unfortunate Expedition, where his P. 37.

Honour had been facrificed, and his Treb. Pol.

Life with great difficulty faved, having affished in the driving the Scy
thians or Goths out of Greece, entred

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Disturbance,

into a Conspiracy with Claudius, the next Man in Dignity and Employment to the Emperor; and having engaged Cecropius, the General of the Dalmatian Forces, in the Design, they by his Hand slew Gallienus, (this Cecropius, the General of the Dalmatians, Monsieur Tristan believes to be the same Cecrops the Moor, whom * Zosimus assirms to

have assum'd the Empire, when Gal-

lienus return'd from Germany to Rome,

to drive the Seythians out of Italy;

and that he was call'd the Moor, be-

cause made Governor of Mauritania

Tom. 3. p. 177.

*LI.p.35

Treb. Pol.

1.199.

by Claudius: Whereas Zofimus affirms, that the other Disturbers of that Reign of Gallienus, Cecrops, Antoninus, and the like, were brought to condign Punishment by him, only Aurelius survived: And if so, Cecropius in Zofimus could not be the same who murther'd Gallienus,) and by a general Consent Claudius was declar'd Emperor, who (as Aurelian in his Letters declares) suffer'd Zenobia to Reign quietly, while he was busied in the Gothick War. And in this he acted very politickly, that that Warlike Lady preserving the Boundaries of the Eastern Empire free from

Disturbance, he might the more securely accomplish his other Designs; and in this Resolution he persisted, pol. p.204. though the Senate, when he was elected, cried out five times, O Emperor Claudius, deliver us from the Palmyrenians: And again seven times, O Emperor Claudius, reseue us from Zenobia and Victorina. For he was forc'd to acknowledge in his Letters, That as Telivicus had made himself Master of all france and Spain; so the Queen of Palmyra, to their shame be it spoken, was possest of all their Archers.

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While the Forces of the Empire were zosim. i.t. employ'd by Claudius, in the First Year 1.39, 40. of his Reign (Anno Christi 270, An-sup. tiochianus and Orphitus being Consuls)

to compel the Stythians to repais the Danabe, and to return to their own Country, (for they had ravag'd Afia and Achaid, Acarmania, Bacotia, Thefally, and the adjacent Countries,) Zembia fent her Troops into Egypt, to teduce that fertile Country under her Jurisdiction; the Inhabitants of that ich Province having, upon the News of the Death of Gallienus, unanimously

kknowledge and taken the Oath of

Allegiance to Chandius, though he were absent. This Zenobia resented, as an Injury offer'd to her own Title, and the Succession of her Sons, it being usual for the Junior Augustus, upon the Death of the Elder, to claim the Possession of the whole Empire: Or elfe the took this occasion to affert her Pretentions to that Kingdom; for the derived her Pe degree from the Family of the Ptolemy's, and particularly from Cleopatra the last Queen of that Country, whom the Ro-

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mans had by force dispossest.

To make this Conquest, the sent her General Zabdas into Egypt (where a Party of the Natives under Timagenes (Pollio calls him Timegenes) had already declar'd for her Interest, and supported to her Claim) who with a powerful Army die of Seventy thousand Men, made up of Co fought Fifty thousand Egyptians, and Zanter a very sharp Engagement (in the which the Militia of Polymers) the Fight with unwearied Obstinacy no and Pertinacion fees) got the Victory ten After which, having left Five thousand Me of his Soldiers behind him to keep the lat Country in awe, hereturned to Palmyra. While Allean

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While this Invasion was made, Probus, whom the Emperor Claudius had declar'd the Præfect of Egypt, was, according to Command, scouring the neight bouring Seas of the Pyrates, who, in those times of Disorder, much intested the bottom of the Streights: But as foon as he heard the fatal News, that during his Absence, Egypt had been subdued; he return'd with all speed, forming an Army of what Forces he had with him, and such other of the Natives as were content to List themselves for the Service, and to throw off are a the Yoke of the Palmyrenians, which ener they hated, and making an Attempt eady upon the Guards whom Zabdas had left steed to preserve his New Conquest in Obermy dience, He drove them out of the up of Country.

and Labdas return'd; but Probus having in (in the mean time strengthned his Troops with Recruits from Lybia, and the renacy noter Parts of Egypt, attack't the Efory: temy, got the Victory, and drove the uland Men of Palmyra a second time out of p the lat Gountry.

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In pursuit of this Victory, Probus possest himself of a Hill near Babylon (the Egyptian City of that Name) that he might preclude Zabdas from retiring into Syria. But Timagenes, who exactly knew all the Country, with Two thousand Palmyrenians got to the top of the Hill, unknown to the Egyptians, and salling upon them unexpectedly, cut them all off. Which when their General saw, he, not willing to outlive his Honour, sell on his own Sword.

CHAP. XXII.

the Guards who maked a had left

Power of Zenobia, the remainder of the Barbarians, who outliv'd the Battle fought between Claudius and the Goths, at Naissus, secured themselve within a Tabor of their Waggons, and so made their Retreat: A violent Pesti lence at the same time raging in both Camps; in which Contagion, Claudius on

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one of the most Accomplish of the Roman Princes, breath'd his last. To him Quintillus his Brother succeeded; but hearing that Aurelian was chosen Emperor, he order'd his Physicians to cut his Veins, and so expir'd.

Aurelian having baffled the Seythians, and subdued all the Pretenders ' to the Government, having built the Walls of Rome, and settled the Civil State of that City (which took up the two first Years of his Reign) undertook an Expedition into the East, to reduce Palmyra, which at that time had brought under its Jurisdiction all Egypt, and all the East, home to Ancyra the Metropolis of Galatia; and would have extended its Conquests over Bithynia to the Gates of Chalcedon, if the Inhabitants, having been made acquainted with the Resolutions of Aurelian, had not emancipated themselves from that Yoke.

Aurelian did not march directly into Vopisco, the East, but secured the Provinces p. 216, through which he went, being forc'd to fight many Battels by the way, before he reach'd Syria. For in Illyricum, and Thrace he overthrew the remainders

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of the Goths, and flew Five thousand of them, with their Commander Cunnabah After which, he march'd shrough Byzantium into Bithynia, which had declar'd for his Interests; took Tyana, which was betray'd to him by Heraclammon, but Spar'd the City, for the fake of the Philosopher Apollowing, who was born there, while he order'd the Traytor to be executed; all the other Cities between Tyana and Antioch rendring themselves.

Near Antioch, Zenebia had fix'd her Ration, in the Head of a numerous Army advantagiously posted. But Aurelian was a Prince of Undaunted Courage, a Bold Spirit, and Dextrous Addreft, and prepar'd himfelf, as became a Prudent General, for a Battel: And observing, that the Strength of Zenobia's Forces confifted in her Horse-men, (who were arm'd Cap-a-pée, and better understood Horsemanship than the Roman Troops) he posted his Foot beyond the River Orontes, in a separate Body, and commanded his Horse not to engage the Palmyrenians while their Body was fresh and lusty; but when they charg'd, to retire, and diffemble a Flight,

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flight, till the extreme Heat of the Weather, and the Weight of their heavy Arms had tyred them, and forc'd them to defice from the Pursuit. The due Observation of this Order got the Victory: For when the Romans, by this manner of Fighting, had fatigued the Palmyrenian Troops, and tyred their Horses, then they charg'd them with the utmost Vigour, and as they fell from their Horses, or their Horses sunk under them, trod them under their feet. The Slaughter was various; fome were fain with the Sword, others stifled with the fall of their own Horses upon them, a third fort trampled to death by the Roman Troops, while the fcatter'd remainters of that great Army fled to Antioch.

This Battel was fought (says * Eu- * Chron. sebius) in the second Year of the ex version. Olympiad, Anno Christi 273, at (a) Imma, not far from Antioch,

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⁽a) and Timas. Hier. (lege apud Imas, an easie Mistake of the Copyist for aput Imas.) apud Imas, in Sextus Rusus, and Eutropius. In Ptolemy, '1442. In Georgius Syncellus, '1443. In St. Hier. Vit, Malchi, Imma.— It was a Town of Seleucis, between Gindarus and Gephyra, says Ptolemy. And Hier. says, that the Desart of Chalcis is situate between Imma and Emesa to the South.

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and in the Engagement, Pompeianus the Frank (whose Family thereupon settled at Antioch, and was in being in St. 7. rom's time, his dear Friend Eugrius being of that House and Lineage) did the Emperor extraordinary Service. and behav'd himself with great Bravery. And it was this Battel, or rather the L.7.c.23. Shadow of a Battel, fays * Orefins, for Zenobia was rather frighted than beaten into Submission) that put that Great Princels into the Hands of the Romans, and decided the Controversie (fay Eutropius, and Aurelius Victor.) But they are both mistaken; for Zenebia loft her Empire in a much sharper Engagement at Emesa, where her Forces were entirely routed: Of which more in the next Chapter. his Burel was found thivs

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CHAP. XXIII.

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Abdas the General of Zenobia's Ar-zosim. my, a Commander of great Experience, and (till then) as great Success, searing less the People of Antioch, upon the report of the loss of the Battel, should have fallen upon and insulted the remains of his Conquer'd Troops, having found a Man who somewhat resembled Aurelian, clad him in such Habit as that Prince used to wear when he fought, leading him through the Streets of that large City in Triumph, as if he had gotten the Victory, and made the Emperor his Prisoner.

By this Stratagem Zabdas imposed upon the Citizens of Antioch, and amuzed them the remaining part of that Day, till the Night coming on, he retir'd with Zenebia to Emesa: And thus he deluded the Antiochians, who otherwise would have much incommoded his Retreat, and escap'd being surpriz'd and ruin'd by Aurelian; for the Emperor had recall'd his Foot from the other side of the Orontes, with

an Intention, the next day, to have fallen upon the reliques of the Palmyrenian Army on every fide: But his Design was frustrated by the flight of Zenobia; whereupon he altered his Intentions, and enter'd Antioch, being receiv'd by the Citizens with all the Marks of Zeal for his Service ; and was fo well pleas'd with the Testimonies of their Repentance and Submission, that he published an Indemnity to the Inhabirants, and recall'd those who had fled out of fear of being purished for adhering to the Interests of the Queen of mongh the Streets stynning leading him th

At this time Aurelian was informed, that a Party of the Palmyrenians had posted themselves advantageously on a Hill that overlook'd Daphne, the famous Suburb of Amicoch, in considence that the Steephoss of the Place would secure them from all the Attacks of the Romans. But the Emperor commanded his Infantry to draw themselves into their Close Order, and to cover themselves with their Shields, so to bear off the Darts and Stones that their Adversaries might hurl down upon them: And by this method they got an easie Victory,

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Victory, and put all their Enemies to flight; whom the Romans purfued fo closely, that fome were forc'd to throw themselves off from the Precipices, and so were torn in pieces, while the remainder perish's by the Swords of the Victors.

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After this, the Cities of Apamea, Lariffa and Aretbufa open'd their Gates. and submitted to the Conqueror, receiving him with all the Marks of Honour and Refpect. But Aurelian understanding that the Army of Zenobia, and her Allies, being no less than Seventy thousand Men, were encamp't in the Plain before Emefa, immediately mov'd towards them, and encamp't with his Dalmatian, Myfian and Pannonian Horse, with the Legions of Noricum and Rhetia, and with his Pratorian Bands, who were all select Troops, and tryed Men, in view of the Enemy. Besides these Regiments, Aurelian had in his Army feveral Troops of Moorish Horse, of the Militia of Asia, from Tyana, and from Mefopotamia, Syria, Phenicia, and Palestine, all choice Men.

When the Armies engag'd, the Roman Horse took care not to be enclos'd by the Palmyrenians, who were superiour to them in number, and gall'd them very severely, breaking and difordering their Ranks. But as they were, about to turn their backs, the Roman Foot charg'd the Enemy's Troops To briskly, that they foon put them to flight. Upon this followed a bloody flaughter, the Jews falling on with their Clubs and Maces, which made a thundering and unusual Noise upon the Armour of Brass and Iron in which the Palmyrenians charged: The whole Country was cover'd with the Carcasses of Men and Horses, while the few that escap'd, fled to the City.

Zenobia being extremely grieved, as she ought, at her Deseat, deliberated what she should do; and it was unanimously in Council agreed. That she should desert Emesa (the Inhabitants of the City being her Enemies, and wishing well to the Romans) and betake her self to Palmyra, where being more secure, she might consult at leisure how to repair her lost Fortunes. This Advice she immediately comply'd with,

and fled to Palmyra.

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The News of her flight being brought to Aurelian, he entred Emesa in Triumph. cover'd with the Trophies of a noble Victory, and was receiv'd by the Citizens with all the Marks of Joy, and according to the Deferts of an Invincible Hero. At Emefa he seiz'd the Treafures of Zenobia, which, by reason of her precipitate haste, she was forc'd to leave behind her, and then with all imaginable speed mov'd toward Palmyra. In his March, the Syrian Banditti much Vopisc. infested his Camp; for they had, du. p. 218. ring the Disturbances of the Empire, Victor. made themselves very formidable, their Troops being numerous, their Horses fleet to admiration, and the Defarts favouring their retreat with their Prey; inafmuch as at this time it was Proverbial at Rome, That none but Women and Thieves govern'd the East.

When Aurelian had quitted himself of these troublesom Attendants, he form'd the Siege of Palmyra, straightly beleaguing the City, and sortifying his Camp with Castles, while the neighbouring Nations surnisht him with all sorts of Provisions. The Besieged, in the mean time, being possest with a

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vain Opinion, That their City was Impregnable, derided the Attempts of the Romans, as if they must be forc'd, in a few days, to raise their Siege, for want of Necessaries; while the City was well provided with all the requifites of War, the Garrison numerous and brave, and engaged to fight, not, as before, for Glory and Conquest, but for their Wives and Children, and their own Liberties, their All being at stake: For it was beyond the reach of Fancy to imagine (fays Aurelian, in his Letter to Mucapores) what vast quantities of Arms and Military Stores were in that City; that no part of the Wall was without two or three Engines to throw Darts, and other Instruments of Mischief, into the Enemies Camp; that with some of their Machines they threw Fire among their Tents; and that the Garrison behav'd themselves with to much Resolution, that Aurelian baving been wounded with an Arrow. had like to have breath'd his last under the Walls of Palmyra.

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CHAP. XXIV.

Zenobia the Queen of the East,

His Resolution of the Besieged, join'd to the many Fatigues the Emperor was obliged to undergo, made him almost quite weary of his Defign: Whereupon he wrote to Zenebia, requiring her to furrender the Place, and promiting her and her Confederates. that they should be allowed to live in great Plenty and Security, in fuch a part of the Empire as the Senate should appoint, upon Condition, that all her Treasure and Arms, her Horses and Camels, should be given up to the Romans; after which, Palmyra should be permitted to be a Free Commonwealth, as it had been in past Ages. But the haughty Queen kept up her Courage, though her Fortunes were lunk, and return'd the Emperor this Answer: Land of all the For

The Epifile inflam'd Aurolian, and aidona. Epifile inflation that a wife and brave General aught to have actemptous

Zenobia the Queen of the East, To the Emperor Anrelian.

NO Man ever yet, except your self, durft demand of me, what your Letters require. What soever is to be atthieved in War, must be gotten by Courage and Resolution. Tou command me to surrender my self and Empire; but you have forgetten, that Cleopatra chose rather to die by her own Hand, than to tessen and outlive her Grandeur. I am not destitute of Assistance; I daily expell Succours from the Persians : The Saracens and Armenians are in my Interests: and the very Free-booters of my Country have already infulted and baffled your Army. When these Auxiliary Troops arrive, which I look for from all Quarters, you will abate of your imperious Demands, though you now require me to yield, as if you bad already gotten an entire Conquest, and had made your felf Lord of all the East.

This Epistle instam'd Aurelian, and put him upon doing all that a wise and brave General ought to have attempted,

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to reduce the City; he intercepted the Persian Succours, and debaucht the Saracens and Armenians, whom he corrupted by Money, and bought off, till they deserted, according to the Custom of those fickle and changeable Nations, who are true only to their own Interests, and pay their Homage and Services to that Prince who bids most for them.

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When the Garrison heard that all their Relief was cut off, and saw the Emperor bent to carry on his Attacks with the utmost vigour, being also much prest with the want of Necessaries, they determined to send their Queen over the Euphrates into Persia, to beg the Assistance of that great King; and to this end, they did set Zenobia on a semale Camel, which sort of Creatures run swifter than any Horse, (others say, on a swift Dromedary,) and convey'd her out of the City.

Aurelian, vex'd heartily that his Enemy had made her escape, dispatch't his Light-Horse to overtake her, who seiz'd on her as she was just embark't, endeavouring to reach the farther side of the Euphrates, and brought her back

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to the Roman Camp with mighty Joy

and Triumph.

In the mean time, the Garrison was divided in their Sentiments, one Party of them resolving to maintain the Town to the last Man, and to the last drop of their Blood; while others were determined to supplicate the Emperor's Pardon, and to furrender. And this last Opinion prevail'd; whereupon, Aurelian having given his Promise, that they should be indemnify'd for whatever was past, they open'd their Gates, and begg'd the Conqueror's Mercy, who receiv'd them with all Kindness, and took care they should not fuffer any damage.

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CHAP. XXV.

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Hus was that proud City, emulous of the Glory of Old Rome, reduc'd under the Power of Aurelian, who having possest himself of all the Treasure and rich Moveables of it, return'd to Emesa, and there sate in Judgment on Zenobia and her Accomplices. For the Army were ready to mutiny, and petition'd, that she that had been the cause of all their Hardships, should be Executed. But Aurelian, who had a grand Esteem for her Courage, and other Heroical Qualifications, and who could not have forgotten the Merits of her Husband Odenathus, and his great Services, who supported the finking Empire in the East, and preserv'd it from utter Ruine, thought it beneath the Courage of a brave Man to murder a Woman, one of so rare Endowments, and who had for some years worn the Sacred Purple, in cold blood; and being convinc'd, that it would more contribute to his Glory, to carry her in Triumph to Rome, than to put her to Death in the East, he preserv'd her from the Rage of the incens'd Soldiers; and to fatisfie the Mutinous, sharply expostulated with her the Reasons of her Obstinacy, and caused all those to be fliin who had engaged her to take up Arms against Aurelian. This occasion'd the Execution of many eminent Persons, among whom the most learned Longinus met his Fate with great Resolution; and to the last, he bore his Sufferings with a Philosophical Courage, and was so far from being affrighted with the Shadows of the Grave, that he comforted his Friends who bemoan'd his Destiny, and convinc'd them, that if this lower World be but one large Prison, he is the happiest Man who is soonest discharg'd and fet at liberty.

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CHAP. XXVI.

He Affairs of the East having Vopisc. thus been adjusted, and the P. 219. Country left without Disturbance, Au- Zosim. 1.1, relian determin'd to return into Europe; but before he could reach Rome, while he was passing through Rhodopa, a Province of Thrace, the Inhabitants of Palmyra, who could not content themselves with their meaner Circumstances (the loss of their Empire being a continual Affliction) resolved to betake themselves to their Arms, to recover their ancient Grandeur. In pursuit of this Defign, they fell upon Sandario, and the Six hundred Archers whom the Emperor had left there in Garrison. and putting them to the Sword, chose Achilleus (the Father of their Captive Queen Zenobia) their Prince. But as soon as the Emperor heard of the Revolt, being a General of unwearied Diligence and Dispatch, he immediately march'd back into Asia, and utterly destroy'd that unhappy City.

This

This part of the Story Zofimus tells somewhat differently; That the Men of Palmyra, instigated by Aplaus, who had in former times been a busie Agitator among them, attempted to perfuade Marcellieus (T. Nonnius Marcellinus, I suppose, who afterwards was Consul in Year of the Emperor Tacitus, Anno Christi 275,) whom Aurelian had constituted his Governor of Mesopotamia, and the Prefectus Prætorio of the East, to take upon him the Empire. He put them off from day to day; and under the pretext of confidering fo weighty an Affair, before he determin'd his Resolutions, gain'd time till he had certify'd Aurelian of the Revolt; but at last he positively refused to take the Purple. Whereupon they chole Antiochus their King, and arm'd themselves in his defence.

Upon the News that Marcellinus sent, the Emperor doubled his March, and in a short time came to Antioch; the Inhabitants, who were busied about their Sports, in seeing the Horse-races, being surprized at his coming; from whence he immediately speeded to Palmyra, which without fighting he took,

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and raz'd, giving Antiochus his Life and Liberty, accounting him beneath his Anger.

In the Sack of the City, the Soldiers were furfeited with Blood and Rapine (as Aurelian, in his Letters to Cejonius Bassus, relates) sparing neither Age, Sex nor Quality, involving Women and Children, Old and Young, the Nobility and the Boors in the fame common Ruine, till there was hardly left a Man to inhabit the City, or to manure the Ground.

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Such a Revenge satiate I even the fierce Temper of Aurelian, inafmuch as he he wrote to Cejonius Bassus (or rather Cerronius, according to the old Copies, probably the same Cerronius, the General of the Dalmatian Troops, who flew Gallienus, whom, I conjecture, Aurelian left the Governor of Palmyrene) to put a period to the Carnage, and to spare the poor remains of that unfortunate City, enjoyning him expresly to build the Temple of the Sun (which had been fack't and rifled by the Soldiers of the Third Legion) as mag-vid. Apnificently as it had been in times past pend. (and by the Ruines of it extant at this

day, it appears to have been a stupendous Building) to the repairing this noble Structure he enjoined him to expend 300 Pound weight of Gold, which he found in the Cossers of Zenobia, besides 1800 Pound weight of Silver, which was rais'd from the sale of the Peoples Goods, together with the Crown Jewels, all which he order'd to be sold, to make Money to beautiste the Temple, while himself promises to write to the Senate to send a Priest from Rome to Dedicate it.

After this, Aurelian return'd into Europe without any disturbance, carrying the unhappy Zenobia his Prisoner with him to Rome, till she became one of the Ornaments of his Triumph; whither I shall follow her, to compleat her Story, when I have briefly consider'd the Fortunes of her Associate Firmius.

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THen Aurelian had put to death VV all Zenobia's Councellors, Military Officers, and Affociates, and destroy'd the City, Marcus Firmius (as the Coins stile him, while the Historians call him Firmus) one of the Confederates of the Captive Princess, took upon him the Title of Emperor, and * Vopis. endeavour'd to revenge her Quarrel: 1. 242. He was born at Seleucia, and bred up to all manner of robust Exercises, Nature having fitted him with a Gigantick Body qualified for such Undertakings; his Stature was tall to a Prodigy; and his Limbs fo firm, that supporting himfelf only with his Hands, he could endure the Smiths, when they had laid an Anvil on his bare Breast, to smite on it with their Sledges: And proportionable to his Strength was his Stomach, for he used to eat an Ostrich at a Meal; and could swallow at a fitting, though his usual Drink was Water, as much Wine as two Buckets would hold: He had also amast vast Wealth.

Wealth, having often fent his Ships to trade in the East-Indies, which return'd loaden with all fort of rich Goods, and among other Rarities, two Elephants Teeth of ten Foot long: And of the Products of Egypt, he had in his Warehouse as much Paper and Glew as would mas. in loc. maintain an Army. And, that he might keep a Port suitable to his Station, to his Riches, and his Dignity, he built him a noble and pompous Palace at Alexandria.

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Vid. Sal-

Firmins having thus fill'd his Coffers, and provided all things necessary to maintain the Interest he resolv'd to engage in, declar'd himself a Friend and Confederate to Zenobia, (nor is it altogether improbable that Zenobia constituted him, being a Man of extraordinary Strength and Courage, and Master of a great Estate, her Governor over Egypt, when Zabdas had conquer'd it,) and when that Illustrious Queen fell into her Misfortunes, he enter'd into a League with the Blemmyæ and Saracens, and then declar'd himself Emperor (as the Coins expresly prove, tho' Aurelian, according to the Custom of that Age, which stiled all Tyrants and Usurpers to

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Usurpers Thieves, will not allow him a better Title than that of the Egyptian Robber, and though Vopiscus says that he declar'd Egypt a Free State, refusing to assume the Ensigns of Royalty) and having recollected the scatter'd Forces of Zenobia's Army, undertook to support the improsperous Cause, and to defend Alexandria.

But no Power could resist the Genius of Aurelian; for after the return of that great Man from Carra, Firmius sell a Victor to the Conqueror, and some say, became his own Executioner. But Aurelian himself affirms, that after he had routed his Army, he besieged him in Alexandria, and having taken the City by Storm, he severely chastised the Citizens for their Sedition, but Crucify'd their Ephemerous Emperor (for he did not reign a full Year) which was the usual Punishment to which Thieves were Condemn'd.

From Egypt the fierce and indefatigable Emperor march'd his Troops toward the West, vex'd and angry that Tetricus still maintain'd his Pretensions to the Purple in France; but upon his approach, Tetricus, who could no longer endure

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Legions, gave up his Army to Aurelian, who having thus quietted the Affairs of both the East and West, return'd to Rome with his Captives, which City he resolv'd to enter in State, as the Lord of the Universe.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THe Affairs of Zenobia, after she fell into the Hands of Aurelian, #L.1.p.55. are differently related. * Zosimus avers, that the Victorious Emperor carried her, her Son, and all her Accomplices with him towards Rome, and that it was reported, that she either died of some Disease, or that refusing all manner of Sustenance, she starved her self; and that the rest of the Captives, except her Son, were Shipwrack't, and drown'd in the Streights, between Chalcedon and Byzantium. † Malela says, + Par. 2. that Aurelian caus'd her to ride on a P. 397. Dromedary, and carry'd her with him through through all the East, till he came to Antioch, where for three Days he exposed her to the fight of the People, loaden with Fetters, who had often feen her in the height of her Glory: after which, he transported her to Rome, where, after she had acted her part among the Princes of the conquer'd Provinces, he caus'd her to be Beheaded. But * Zonaras talks doubtfully, his Authors from whom he derived his * Tom. 2 Notices differing in their Accounts; P. 240. some affirming, that the Victor used her with the greatest Clemency, and marry'd her at Rome to a Man of Quality, (Syncellus fays he was a Senator.) others, that she died by the way, opprest with grief for the loss of her Empire, and that Aurelian himself married one of her Daughters, and difpos'd of the others for Wives to the most Illustrious of the Romans.

But in the Memoirs of the Western Assairs, we are rather to be guided by the Writers of that Country, who may be presumed to have been better acquainted with what was done in their own Country, than those who liv'd at a great distance in the East. And they

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Hier.Chron. all agree, that Zenobia surviv'd all her Misfortunes, that Aurelian gave her her Life for her own fake, and for the Merits of Odenathus, and that she lived very happily in Italy, after she, having been devested of the Empire of the East, had made her Figure in the Triumph of Aurelian; and I shall account for the Pomp of it, which the Historian fays was Specious and Magnificent, because that was the last of the Imperial Triumphs, which was made according Though it to the ancient manner. must be confest, that Onuphrius Panvinius says, that the last Triumph was that of Belisarius, who, by the Order of the Emperor Justinian, was allowed to make his Entry into the City of Constantinople in a Triumphant Chariot, drawn by four Horses a breast, after he had recover'd Africa out of the hands of the Vandals, and made Gelimer their King his Prisoner; and that his Scholiast Joachim Maderus affirms, that Heraclius, Johannes Comnenus, and Manuel his Son, had their several Triumphs: But these have no relation to Rome, but to Constantinople. And of the Triumph of Beli-Carius,

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Jarius, Procopius says expressly, that it Vandal. was not according to the ancient me
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p. 255.

thod, but that he began his Procession is the mackage
at his own House, from whence he mackage
march'd on foot to the Hippodrome, and from thence to the Imperial
Throne; and withal he avers, that
for near Six hundred Years before
Belisarius, the Honour of the Triumph
was not given to any other, since the
days of Titus and Trajan, and those
other great Emperors who had conquer'd the Barbarians; among whom,
I suppose, he includes Aurelian.

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CHAP. XXIX.

The Triumphal Pomp was always vopise.

very August: The whole Senate p. 220.

march'd in their several Ranks toward de Triumph.

the Capitol, being followed by the p. 140.

Trumpets of War, who sounding a

Charge, introduc'd the Representations

of the several Countries that had been

subdued, and the Cities that had been

taken.

taken, done in exquisite Imagery and Picture: After these followed the Riches of the Conquer'd Provinces, vast quantities of Gold and Silver, and noble Gems, Crowns and Royal Robes, and the other Ornaments of Royalty and Grandeur, intermix'd with the Arms that were peculiar to the Regions that had been reduc'd under the Roman Power: These were succeeded, among others, by a long Train of Sacrifices, and Priests attending that Service, all clad in rich Garments of Silk and Purple, interwove with Gold: Then came the Chariots of the unfortunate Princes, with a long train of their faithful Subjects, who, to shew their Fidelity, were content to follow the adverse Fortune of their Sovereigns.

When Aurelian made his Entry into that superb City, there were three Royal Chariots very remarkable: The first belong'd to the Hero Odenathus, (while alive) richly adorn'd with Gold, and Silver, and Precious-Stones, which gave it a peculiar Lustre. The second, no less glorious than the first, was a Present made by the King of Persia to the Great Aurelian, (who also presented

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him with a Purple Robe, of so beautiful a Dye, dipt in the Indies, that nothing of the Imperial Wardrobe, or the Cabinets of the Roman Ladies, was comparable to it.) The third, was the Chariot which Zenobia had caused to be made for her self, in hopes to have entred Rome in Triumph, after the had reduced that proud City. Tis true, she made her entry into Rome in the same Chariot; but she rode in it a Captive, not a Queen.

These Chariots were sollowed by a sourth, which (as it was reported) did once belong to the King of the Goths, drawn by sour Stags a breast, in which Aurelian (clad in the samous Purple above-mentioned, which he afterwards dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, and which after Ages look'd on with Admiration) was drawn to the Capitol, where he sacrificed the Stags, according to a Vow made to Jupiter, when he took the Chariot. In the head of these Chariots march'd twenty Elephants; of Lybian Lions, Leopards and Pan-

of Lybian Lions, Leopards and Pan-vid. Salthers, as also of those of Palestine, mas. in Votwo hundred; which, after the Triumph 371.

Was ended Aurelian bestowed on his

was ended, Aurelian bestowed on his K private

private Friends, that he might lessen the Publick Expence. These were followed by four Tygars, by feveral Camelopardali, Elks, and other strange

Beafts, each in their orders.

Part of this Pomp confifted of eight hundred pair of Gladiators destin'd to the Entertainment of the People, and of an infinite number of Captives; for, besides the Barbarous Nations of the Blemmyes, the Inhabitants of Axumis, and of Arabia the Happy; the Indians, Bactrians, Iberians, Saraceus and Perhans; and after them, the Goths, the Alans, the Roxolans, the Sarmatians, Franks, Suevians, Vandals and Germans, with their Hands bound behind their Backs, preceded the Imperial Chariot. Among these, the principal Men of Palmyra, as many as had outliv'd the Calamity of their Country, and the Rebels of Egypt, had their station. But the most remarkable of the Captives were ten masculine Women, who, habited in Mens Cloaths, had done extraordinary Service to the Gothick General; these few being all that survived of the Amazonian Race, who fought against the Romans; and in the Head ot

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of every Nation, was carry'd the Name of the Country to which they belong'd.

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Amid'st this numerous train of Prisoners, Tetricus made a peculiar Figure: he was habited A-la-mode de France. where he had been Emperor, in a Scarlet Cloak, under which he wore a light Gold-coloured Coat, and a pair of French Breeches; with him was his Son, whom Tetricus had declared Emperor in France. After him followed Zenobia, deck'd to the greatest advantage, but loaden with her Golden Chains, whose weight was supported by her Attendants. The Crown of every conquer'd City, distinguish'd by an eminent Inscription, was carried before every Nation. After them followed the People of Rome, the Banners of the several Colleges, and the Ensigns of every Regiment, with the Cuirassiers, followed by the rest of the Army. And after these the Senators march'd (but not brisk and merry as otherwise they would have been on such a Solemnity, because Tetricus, who was a Member of that August Body, was led a Captive ght in the Triumph.) It was late e're the ead Cavalcade K 2 of

Cavalcade reach'd the Capitol, but Night before the Emperor return'd to the Palace.

On the following Days the common People were folaced with the fight of Stage-plays, Horse-races, Huntings, the Duels of the Gladiators, and mock Seafights. And among other the Pleafantries of that merry time, it is not to be forgotten, that Aurelian, before he made his Expedition into the East, promised the Romans, that if he return'd a Conqueror, he would give a Crown of two Pound weight to every Citizen, which they expected would be of no worse Metal than Gold: But the Emperor being neither able nor willing, presented each of them with a fine Wheaten Loaf in shape of a Crown, and of the same weight, and one of these he bestowed on every Commoner, every year, as long as he liv'd.

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7 Hen this Ceremony was over, Aurelian gave both Tetricus and Zenobia their Lives, constituting Tetricus (a) Corrector of Lucania, (Trebellius Pollio fays, of all Italy,) and setling Zenobia at Rome, where she liv'd in much Plenty and Honour to a great Age, maintaining the Port of a Roman Matron, by the Estate which the Emperor possest her of in Tivoli, not far from the Emperor Adrian's Palace. and the Place which is called Conche (or Conce;) and so well she behav'd her felf in her new Habitation, that the Place of her Residence was called Zenobia, from the illustrious Inhabitant.

⁽a) The Correctors of any part of a Roman Pro-Guther de vince were reckon'd in Honour equal to the Men of Offic Dom Consular Dignity. There were two Correctors of Offic. Dom. Italy (as the Notitia says) the one of Apulia and Ca-Aug. 1. 1. labria, the other of Lucania, and the Brutii; the Cor- 6.7. p. 25, rectors being reckon'd among the Friends of the Em- 26. & p. peror, among the Viri Clariffimi, and Spectabiles, and 237. let to stand on a level with the Presidents of Provinces.

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Conf. del tichità Tiburtine, par.2. c.5.

The precise Situation of this Zenobia (the Villa of this excellent Prince(s) is to this day under dispute : Fulvio Car-Ré de l'An- doli says, that the Ruines of the Villa Zenobia are to be feen in that Place that is called Colle di Santo Stephano, Which is fituate near the Palace of Adrian. But Del Ré avers, that Conchæ is near the Lake Della Solforata, call'd the Baths; that the Plain is to this day called the Plain of Conche; and, that the noble Marbles to be feen there, are a demonstration that he was not mistaken in the Situation. The Baths being built (says the learned Andrea Bacci) by Agrippa, for the use of such as would frequent them; that three hundred years after their first Foundation, the Place was deputed for the Habitation of Zenobia; and, that the Cardinal Hyppolito of Ferrara found there a Jewel of Gold, an Antique Vessel of Silver, and other Ornaments belonging to the Ladies of those early times, with an Inscription, that in that Place one of the Daughters of Zenobia was buried. From all which, viz. from the Name Conche, still remaining, from the Antique Fabricks standing thereabouts, and from what Was

was found there, it may be gathered, that the Villa Zenobia could not be far off.

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Some Authors affirm, that Zenobia's Sons, Herennianus and Timolaus, were flain by Aurelian's Order, (Greatness is seldom unaccompanied with Jealousie; and a Rival Prince never thinks his Title fecure, till his Competitor is in his Grave;) but others fay, that they tasted of the Emperor's Clemency, and died at Rome natural Deaths, the very year in which they were brought thither, Ann. Chr. 273, (fays Mezzo- Pag. 385. barba :) while Vaballathus having been led in Triumph with his Mother Zenobia, spent the remainder of his life in a private station. But whence that learned Man had these Notices, I profels I know not. This we are fure of. that in the Reign of Constantine the Great, her Posterity were reckon'd among the Nobility of Rome, so says Trebellius Pollio expressy: In the Reign of Valens the same Family continued in great Reputation, fays Eutropius: And St. Ferom witnesses the same thing for the times of Honorius. And Cardinal Baronius imagines, that Zenobius the K 4

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Bishop of Florence, St. Ambrose's Contemporary, was one of the Descendants of this samous Empress; but I suppose he built his Conjecture on no other Foundation, but the Likeness of the Names.

Such was the Fate of this illustrious Lady; such the Destiny of Palmyra, the Metropolis of her Empire, under Aurelian; a Catastrophe, if we may credit the Heathen Historian Zosimus (who was a great Bigot for Paganism) foretold by Oracles, and confirm'd by more than one sad Omen, which determined the period of that short-liv'd

L.5. p.53.

Vid. Ap-

Empire.

CHAP. XXXI.

of the had their decises, Appar

Aurel.Vit.

A Drelian having thus subdued all his Adversaries, and established his own and the Empires Quiet, lived after this in an extraordinary Pomp and Splendor: He was the first of the Roman Emperors who habited himself in Cloth of Gold, the first who wore Gems on his

his Cloaths, and in his Shoes, and put on a Diadem, fthe Coin in Oeselius describing him encircled with a Diadem different from, and more rich than those of his Predecessors:) He valued himself, as the Recoverer of the Empire both in the East and West, as the Restorer of the World to its defired Peace and Tranquility, and as one who was born a God, and the Lord of the Uni- Deus & verse. He was undoubtedly an emi- Natus, on nent Prince, though born of mean Pa- the reverse rents, comparable to the Alexanders, of oue of his Coins and the Julius Cafars of former Ages, in Mezzoif he had not fully'd the Lustre of his barba, p. Vertues by his Excessive Cruelties, of 407. which the Carnage at the Sack of Palmyra is a fevere Instance. And so valuable did he account that Victory, that, to preserve the Memory of it (according to the Practice of the Roman Emperors) he added to his Imperial Titles, among many others, that of the Palmyrenian, as appears by an old Inscription consecrated to his Honour in the Fifth Year of his Reign, in * Goltzius, * Thefaur. (i. e. the last, says Petavius and Tristan, P. 274. though the old † Coins (and their Au- + Ibid. thority is to me unquestionable) exprefly

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prefly mention the Sixth Year of his Reign; and with them agrees the Pag. 637. || Chronicon, commonly call'd the Alexandrian,) which is worth the preferving, because in very few Inscriptions the mention of Palmyra occurs : hor and he Kack and

MAGNO AUGUSTO PRINCIPI MAX. IMP. FORTISSIMO. CON-SERVATORI ORBIS, L. DOMITIO AURELIANO P. F. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. V. P. P. COS. IN. PROCOS. GOTH. MAX, PALMYR. MAX. GER. MAX.

ORDO BRIXIANORUM.

Great Augustus.

| Or, To the | To the Great and August, the most Illustrious of Princes, the Bravest of Emperors, the Preserver of the World, Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, Pious and Happy, the Chief Priest, in the Fifth Tear of his Tribunitian Power, the Father of his Country, Conful the Third time, Proconful, the most Glorious Conqueror of the Goths, the Palmyrenians and Germans,

The Brescians dedicate this Inscription.

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His Cruelty was the cause of his Death: for his Secretary Eros (or Mnestheus, as Vopifcus calls him) having been threatned by Aurelian, and fearing his fierce Temper, thought it adviscable to prevent his own Death, by imbruing his Hands in the Blood of his Master, whom, by the help of his Accomplices in the Treason, and by the Hand of Mucapores, he flew, as he was taking the Air, attended with but a thin Guard, while the Camp lay at the New Castle (Canophrium) a Mansion between Heraclea and Byzantium, in the Road toward Perfia, against which Aurelian was marching his Army, to Cufpin. Caf. revenge himself upon that Nation, for P. 79. affifting Zenobia in the former War against the Romans.

Thus Aurelian made his Exit, in the *Seventy fifth Year of his Age; and * chron. after his Death, was honoured, as the Alex. P. more deserving Princes usually were, 637. with a Deification, as both the Histo-

rians and the Coins declare.

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CHAP. XXXII.

His Cruelty was the exacte of his Death's

threatned by Aurelian, and fearing DUt though Palmyra was thus D ruin'd by the Commands of Aurelian, I cannot think it was wholly raz'd, it not being consonant to the Wildom of that August Government to flight so strong a Garrison upon the Borders ; for this would have been the same, as to invite the Persians to a new Invasion; but that the Emperor, who gave a particular Order to re-build, beautifie and endow the noble Temple of the Sun, that had been plunder'd and destroyed by the insolent Soldiers, did also take care, that the City should be put in a posture of defence, so as it might obstruct the Irruptions of the Enemy, and that to that end he constituted Cerronius Bassus the Governor of that Province; though I doubt not, but it lost the Privileges of a Roman Colony, of a Metropolis, and in all probability of a Free City, and was only left in the condition of a Garrison, or Præsidium. For as it was usual to advance a Præsidium, or Fort, to the Honour S

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Honour of a City, as Bosra in Arabia was promoted by the Emperor Severus : fo, on the contrary, a City often loft its Franchises, when it turn'd Rebel to the Emperor. In this condition I suppose it to have been, when Dioclesian and Maximinian wore the Imperial Purple, Hierocles at that time being the Præfect of the Province, as appears by the only Latin Inscription that hath been as yet found at Palmyra; the Pillar being erected to the Honour of the vid. Apabove-named Emperors, and of Constan-pend. tius and Galerius Maximianus the Cxfars, who had most happily founded Castra.

Now, that we may know when Castra was founded, it will be necessary to consider the State of the Empire at that time. Dioclesian having been opposed by many Competitors, was particularly rival'd by Achilleus in Egypt; against him therefore he march'd in Per-Eutrop. son, besieged him in Alexandria, and at brev. Idate. Iast slew him. After this, he went into Mesopotamia, and there making a halt, sent Galerius, Ann. Chr. 296, against Narses King of Persia. Galerius rashly engaging the Persians, between Callinicus and Carre.

Carræ, with a very small Force, was routed, and beaten back to the Camp of Dioclesian; who, when he met him, treated him with so much scorn, that he made him run in his Purple Robe some Miles by his Chariot-side, like a Foot-man, before he vouchfafed to speak to him. But in a little time after this, Ann. Chr. 297, upon Galerius his important Solicitations, he furnish'd him with Recruits from Illyricum and Masia, and commanded him to retrieve the Honour he had loft in the first Engagement, and accordingly he behav'd himfelf with so much Bravery in the second Battle (in which with 25000 Men he broke into the Enemies Camp) that he routed the Perhans, beat them out of Armenia Major, where they had posted themselves, took the Tents and Baggage of Narses, and a great Booty, made his Wives, his Sifters, and Children, (his Daughters, says Rufus Festus,) with a great part of the Persian Nobility, Prifoners, drove the King to fly for shelter to the remotest Solitudes of his Dominions, and acquitted the Romans from the ignominy of the Captivity of Valerian.

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Narses being reduc'd to so great ex- P. Patric. tremity by this last Blow, that had al- excerpt. most determin'd the period of his Empire, chose Appharban, one of the most trusty and most beloved of his Courtiers (his Præfettus Prætorio, as the Historian, using the Style of his own Country, calls him) his Chief Minister, a Man of Address, and happy Application, to be his Ambassador to Galerius; who having obtained leave to deliver his Message, thus accosted this victorious Prince; 'That all Mankind knew, that the two 'Empires of Rome and Persia, were two great Luminaries, which, like the two 'Eyes in the Body, were to receive 'Lustre, Beauty and Help one from the 'other; that it was unnatural, when they endeavoured to extinguish each 'other; that to destroy, and bring to 'desolation, could not be reckon'd ' among the illustrious Atchievements, but must be accounted an effect of 'Madness and Folly; that only meaner 'Spirits delighted in the Ruine of their 'Enemies; that Narseus was not to be reckoned a weak Prince, because he 'was unfortunate, but that Galerius being the greatest of Monarchs, the ' Conquest

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' Conquest of Narseus, who was in no one noble Qualification inferior to any of his Predecessors, was referv'd by the Destinies for him. And that he further had it in his Commission to 'assure him, That though his Master ' had a just Title to his Dominions, yet he threw himself upon the Mercy and 'Clemency of the Romans; that he would not offer any Terms to Gale-' rius, but would be content with whatever Articles he would please to allow him, defiring him to return him his 'Wives and his Children; that this 'Humanity would entitle him to a ' nobler Conquest, than his victorious ' Arms; and, that his generous Usage of his Family already had been such, 'that he profess'd his inability to pay ' him his Acknowledgments as he de-' ferved. - (For the Kings Wives and Children had been treated with all fort of handsom Usage; and the Nobility who had been made Prisoners of War, except their restraint, found no difference between their Captivity and Freedom, between the Enemies Camp and their own Palaces; that not only no Insults were made on their Persons, no Injuries offered them, but their Entertainment was liberal, and suited to their Quality.) To this the Persian Embassador subjoin'd, 'That the State of Man- 'kind was very mutable, and subject to

'great Alterations,

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Upon this Galerius seem'd to be in a heat, and answer'd, 'That it was not well done of the Persians, to desire their 'Adversaries to consider the Instabilty of 'Humane Affairs; because, whenever 'they were bless'd with Success, them-'selves were the most insolent of Conquerors, and added new Afflictions, by 'their opprobrious Usage to those who 'who were before most heavily opprest: putting them in mind of their inhumane Carriage toward the unfortunate Emperor Valerian, to whom they shew'd neither Justice nor Moderation; for after you had circumvented him, and made him your Prisoner, you kept him in Chains, till he had languisht out many years in durance, and without any regard to his extreme Age, or his Sacred Character, you used him with scorn, and at last put him to a cruel and dishonourable Death: And whereas the Rage of the most violent and wicked Men ules

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'uses to be appeas'd, when their Adversaries are dead, your Malice out-'liv'd the Object of it; and though his Body was mortal, you resolv'd to treat it with a Tyranny that endeavour'd to make it felf immortal; for having 'flea'd that great Prince alive, you salted and preserved his Skin, as a lasting Me-'morial of your Treachery, and infa-' tiable Cruelty : This last thing, he asfured the Embassador he mention d, not that he resolved to follow so ignomi-' nious a Prefident, but to convince the Perfians that they could not have any · Pretentions to that Humane Ulage which they petition'd for; and that he was fatisfied, that their Argument from the Inconstancy of Humane Affairs, ' never made any impression on their ' Minds in the days of their Prosperity; while he was resolv'd to tread in the steps and to imitate the nobler Practices of ' his Predecessors, who were accustom'd to suppress the Stubborn and Obstinate, but to comfort and support the Peni-And having thus spoken, he commanded the Embassador to return to his Master, and to represent to him the Clemency of the Romans, of whole Cou-

rage he had lately met with an unquestionable Demonstration, bidding him to expect in a short time the return of the Prisoners, according to his Defires.

Having dismist the Persian Embal-

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Triumphant Galerius rethe turn'd into Mesepotamia to Dioclesian, cover'd with Lawrels, and the Trophies of an entire Victory, and was received with the testimonies of the greatest Honour, as he justly deserv'd. At Nishis, Galerius met the Emperor, without whose Consent himself, being only Cafar at that time, could not confirm a Peace, and having made Dioclesian acquainted with the Particulars, consulted with him what Articles they should propose to the Persian Monarch. When they had ad. P. Patric. justed the Affair, they sent Sicorius Pro- p.29.30. bus, the Emperor's Secretary, into Perha, with the Terms of Agreement. The King treated the Embaffador with all Civility; but, pretending some hinderance or other, carried him with him from place to place, till he came to Afprudis, River of Media, where the scattered remains of his routed Army, having rallyed, and embody'd themselves, pitcht their Tents; there he granted the Emballador

Il Procop.

e.5. p. 97.

p. 42.

baffador all the Demands of his Master the Emperor, except that the Place of Meering should be Nisibis: Upon which the Perfian Monarch's Wife and Children were restored him, and the Captive No. bility had their Liberty.

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At this time Castra was founded by * Lib. 23. Dioclefian, fays * Ammianus Marcellinus,

cap. 5. (and + Johannes Malela,) which he calls + Par. 2. Cercafium; Malela, Circifium; but the p. 17.

Subscriptions of the Chalcedon Council, Castro-Circon, by a complication of both

Names. For the Irruptions of the Perfians into the Roman Territories on the fide of

the Euphrates, were so destructive to those

Provinces, that the || Emperors faw it Perfic. 1.2. very necessary to build several Cities and

Castles upon the Banks of that River, to of de Adi-

fiel.2.c.8. secure their Borders; particularly in that large and barren Defart that lies between Euphratesia and the Persian Limits; in

that Solitude Dioclesian erected three Castles built of unbak'd Bricks, of which

number Mambri was one, which was fituate five miles below Zenobia; but Cir-

cestum stood three days Journey lower

than Zenobia, and as far from Palmyra, being the last and remotest Castle that the

Romans had on their Confines, a little below

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low Thapfacus; it was built very neat, and very frong, on the confluence of the Euphrates, and the Abora for Chaborras, as it is called in Ptolemy) two noble Rivers, which wash the Walls of the City, being fituated on the farther fide of the Euphrates, in that very Angle which the two Rivers make when they meet: Besides the Ramparts of the Castle, it was defended by a long Wall, which extended it felf for some miles on the fides of both the Rivers, and was built in the figure of a Triangle. In times past it was a mean place, and not tenable; but Dioclesian fenced it with high Walls and Towers, when in the Confines of the Barbarians he fix'd the Limits of the Roman Empire, lest the Persians should by that Pass invade Syria, as they had in times past often done, to the great detriment of the Provinces, paricularly under * Gallienus, when they march'd * Ammian. their Army over this Ford, and fack't ubi supr. and burnt Antioch. In the Reign of + Malel. Julian the Apostate it was garrison'd with par. 2. p. 17. 6000 Men: and in the 13th. Year of Justinian, when Chofroes brought his | Procop. Forces thither, with a design that way to ubi supr. invade the Empire, he durst not attempt it.

it. After which time, how long it continued in the hands of the Emperors of the East, I know not. By all which it appears, that Castra was sounded Anno Christi 278, and that at that time Hierocles was Governor of Palmyra.

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a long Wall.

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The CHAP. XXXIII.

continued a Roman Garrison, the Town being then under the Inspection of the Dux Phæniciæ, as the Notitie, collected probably in that Emperor's Reign, affirm; commanded by a Colonel, or Præsect of the first Illyrian Legion, which was lest there in Garrison. And in this state it was when Stephen the Grammarian of Constantinople publish'd his Work concerning the Cities; for he calls it expressly a Castle of Syria (Pose tov & Suelas,) as Hermolaus his Epitomator, who dedicated his Breviate to the Emperor Justinian informs us. But though the Civil Privileges of the

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City were infring'd, it retain'd the Honour of an Episcopal See; this fell not under the cognizance of the Pagan Emperors, and for that reason was not fortified; the Church being careful to preserve her Rights, when the City honour'd with the Episcopal Jurisdiction, had loft her's.

Tustinian having determin'd, in the First Year of his Reign, Ann. Chr. 527. to make War upon the Perfians, resolv'd to re-build Palmyra, fays Procopius, who thus describes it: That there was a City Procop. de of Phenicia, near Mount Libanus, cal- #dific.l.2. led Palmyra, built of old in a Country & 1.5. c.1. that had no Neighbours but such as 1.95. were at a great distance, but most commodiously situated to observe the movements of the Saracens, the Enemies of the Romans, having been built on purpole to prevent the Irruptions of those Barbarians into the Roman Territories. This City having been for a long time deserted, Justinian strengthened with extraordinary Fortifications, bringing Water to the Place for the Support of a strong Garrison which he fix'd there. (And to Justinian I am enclined to attri- Vid. Jourbute the building the Castle of Palmyra, nal p. 84, 85, 103. L4 rather

rather than to a Prince of the Drufes. who never, that we read of, enlarged their Territories as far as Tadmur; as also, that noble Aqueduct seems to be of his Foundation, which runs underground in a direct passage five miles, and is cover'd all the way with an Arch of bastard-Marble, and a Path on both fides the Chanel, large enough for two Persons to walk a breast in, with Ventiducts at every twenty yards distance, being built for the supply of the Garrison with Water.) This was done (fays * Chronogr. * Theophanes) in the First Year of Justi-

.P. 148.

nian, after the Death of his Uncle Justin, the Emperor having given Commission to Patricius the Armenian, the Governor of the East, to see the Work done effectually, having furnish'd him with Money to that purpose, commanding also the Governor of the East to make that Place the Seat of his constant Residence, and to preserve the Churches from the Sacrilegious Saracens.

Procop. Bel. Perf. 1. 2. c.I. p.88.

Eight Years after this, when Belifarius had reduced Italy under the Obedience of the Emperor, Ann. Chr. 535, Chofroes King of Perfia concerted his Affairs with Alamundarus one of the Arabian Princes,

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that he mould invade Arethas another of the Saracen Kings, but in the Roman Interest, upon the pretext, that Arethas detain'd from him a little Region called Strata, that lies to the South of the City Palmyra, but barren of all things being burnt with the fervent Sun, fo that it produces neither Trees nor Fruits, and is destin'd only to the feeding of a few Cattle. Whereupon Chofroes made an id. c. 5. Inroad into the Roman Territories, 1.97. march'd his Army three days by the Banks of the River Euphrates, till he came to Zenobia, the Foundation of the Queen of Palmyrene; but finding the Region uninhabited, and destitute of all Necessaries, the City also refusing to surrender, when required to do fo, he retired to Sura, another City upon the Euphrates. Well and de la contract to

CHAP. XXXIV.

wards to tell into the Heads on the A

A Bout a hundred Years after the repairing of Palmyra by Justinian, it pleased God to permit Mahomet, an obscure Arab, to scourge the Eastern Churches for their Heresies, and their loose

loofe Manners; and to lay the Founda cions of an Empire, which, with the Religion call'd Mahometan, thath prewaild over a great part of the known World, and in a very few years after the first appearance of that falle Prophet. establishet its Jurisdiction in Tadmur. where it prevails to this day soon or

In the Year of Christ, 623 the Second of the Hegira, Chofres the Second, the King of Persia, commanded all the Churches in Syria and Mesopotamia to be deftroy'd, carrying away with him all the Gold and Silver, with all the Ornaments of those Holy Places, even to the very Marble, into his own Country. It is probable, that Tadmur was not exempt from this dreadful Perfecution: But whatever its Fate was under Chofroes, it is unquestionable, that a few years afterwards it fell into the Hands of the Mahometans, who, Anno Christi 638, Hegire 16, having taken the Capital City of the Persians, and routed Izdigerdes Their last King, and feiz'd his Empire Cthe Constantinopolitan Princes not conprevent these sudden and large Conquelts) may be prefumed to have made Palmyra Palmyra their own. After which time, I believe, the Fortifications were permitted to run to decay, it being no longer a Frontier, fince Persia was in their hands on one side of it, and Arabia on the other: And then also, I conjecture, it ceas'd to be a Mart, the Mahometans being in constant Hostility with the Christians; so that the Caravans not being able to travel safely, the Trade with the Persian Gulph was diverted and lost; of which beneficial Commerce the City being deprived, and situate in a desart Country, soon sell into Poverty and Ruine.

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In the Year 659, the 39th. of the Elmac. 1.1. Mahometan Computation, when Muavias c. 5. the Son of Abusofianus, with his Army of Syrians, march'd against Alis the Fifth of Mahomet's Successors, he sent Dahacus with 3000 Men to plunder Iraca, after which they fell into the Province of Higiaza, and having murther'd all the Arabs they met with, loaded themselves with their Spoiles. Whereupon Alis sent against him his General Hagjar the Son of Adis, with 4000 Men, who solfowed them as far as Tadmur within the District

District of *Emesa* (for so it was reckon'd at that time) where they had a sharp Engagement, in which *Dabacus* was routed. And by this it is very plain, that *Tadmur* came very early into the hands of the Successors of *Mahomet*.

Id.1.c.21.

Anno Christi 746, of the Hegira 127, the People of Emesa, at that time the Metropolis of the Country, rebell'd against Merwan the Caliph, who came against the Town with a strong Force, and besieged it: Whereupon the Inhabitants supplicated his Pardon, promised Obedience, and open'd their Gates. But when the Caliph had entred the City in the Head of 300 Men, the Citizens betook themselves to their Arms, and flew all the Soldiers, Merwan himfelf hardly escaping through the Gate that leads to Tadmur, (the old Roman Road lay from Emesa to Apamea, and thence to Palmyra, but the direct Road lay through the Defart, without touching at Apamea;) and when Suleiman the Son of Hisjam, being created Caliph, in opposition to Merwan, by the Men of Bafra, was overthrown in Battle, he retired, first to Emesa, which he fortified; but d

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but being a second time beaten, he fled to Tadmur, leaving his Brother Saidus his Lieutenant in Emesa. From which Passages it appears to me credible, that Tadmur was then a Place of little Trade or Interest, but a Sanctuary for the Unfortunate, for Banditti, and Free-booters, who fled thither, and found a secure retreat, being protected by the advantageous Situation of the Town, which for several Days Journey was on every side surrounded with wild and uninhabited Solitudes.

And if I might be allowed a bold Conjecture, how the River that ran by Palmyra, in Ptolemy's time, and which Marius Niger says emptied it self into the Euphrates, happen'd so to be lost, that now there remain no footsteps of it; I would affirm, that it was buried in Elmacin. that terrible Earthquake that happen'd 1. 2. C.I.L. in those Countries, Anno Christi 859, of the Hegira 245, which ruin'd many a noble City, threw down the Palace at Bagdat, did great damage to Carræ, Emesa, Damascus, Edessa, Laodicea, and all along the Coast of Syria: for at this time, the Arabick Historian avers, that a River vanish't (nor is it unusual in such most

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lowed up of the Earth, that no Man ever could discover what new Channel it had found under ground. At this time, 'tis highly probable, Tadmur did not escape, when all the neighbouring Cities were harrast, and then the River might be absorpt. Nor does Justinian's bringing Water to Tadmur, for the service of his Garrison, contradict this Opinion, because a River may be for other uses, and yet not fit for Drink, many other of the Springs in those Countries being brackish and sulphurous.

Itiner.p.57, 58.

About the Year of Christ 1172, Benjamin Tudelensis the Jew, among other Parts of the East which he visited in his Travels, touch'd at Tadmur, and he informs us (though he is mistaken in the exact distances of Places) that from Baalbeck (or Baalath) built by Solomon in the Valley of Libanus, to Tadmur in the Defart, was four Days Journey; that Solomon built it of large Stones, and fenced it with a strong Wall; that it was built in a Defart far from any Inhabitants; and that in his time there were in the City 2000 stout Jews, who waged War with the Christians, and with the Arabs Arabs the Subjects of Sultan Novaldin, but were ready to affilt their Neighbours the Ishmaelites. From which Passage it appears, that in Benjamin's time, the Eastern Jews, a Race of known Wanderers, had nested in Tadmur, deserted probably by the Arabs, and that they

lived by Rapine and Inroads. 1 nigo 1200

When the Caliphs of Babylon began to lofe their Empire, I question not but Tadmur became subject to the Mamalukes: and upon the fall of their Empire, to the Grand Signior, under whose Jurisdiction they now live, though govern'd by a Prince of their own, and by the Ulage of our English Merchants, when Melham was their Emir, it is put past all doubt that, they have not forgotten, to this day, the Custom of their Ancestors, of robbing all that fall into their hands; for which Rapines, and their other ill management, their Emirs are frequently deposed, and sometimes strangled by the Ottoman Port; so Melham, who robb'd the English Merchants, was in some time after surpriz'd by the Bassa of Aleppo, and put to death. Hassine, his Successor, was, Anno 1693, deposed, and one Dor substituted the Emir of Thus those Arabs.

Thus I have, according to the best of my Understanding, given the History of Palmyra, from its first Foundation, to the present Age: And by this Account we may learn, that Cities, as well as their Inhabitants, have their Infancy and Youth, their Riper Years, and their Decrepit Days; that nothing can refift the Insults of Time, and the Barbarity of Ungovernable Conquerors; and that it is impossible to erect a Monument to our Memory, that shall be lasting, but a noble Series of Vertuous and Brave Actions, that they only rescue from Oblivion, and give Immortality, when Marbles shall Moulder into Dust, and the World it self shall be no more.

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THE APPENDIX:

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Critical Observations

Upon the Names of

Palmyra and Tadmur;

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INHABITANTS,

Their Offices and Religion.

Together with an Account of

Vaballathus and Longinus:

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A Commentary on the Inscriptions.

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Inscriptiones Palmyrenæ.

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Sepulchralia.

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⁽b) CANWHC WACCIANOI TOT W. ASNAIOT: in a third, TOT TOTMASAOT. (c) POTMANN. (d) DIMON.

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Imperatorum Memoriæ.

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Ad Portam Occidentalem.

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APPENDIX.

Aving finish'd my primary Task, I shall apply my self to some other Considerations of a similar nature; which I was unwilling to intermeave with the thread of the History, that the Discourse might appear uniform, and all of a-piece: I have therefore reserved for this Appendix Such Critical Obfervations as I had made upon the Names of the Place, and of the Inhabitants, with the

the Honorary Offices which the Men of Eminence bore in the City: To which I have added an Account of their Idolatry; with a short Separate History of Vaballathus and Longinus, two Great Men of Palmyra; intending to conclude the Dissertations with some Remarks upon the Inscriptions found among the Ruines of this once Illustrious City.

CHAP.

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CHAP. I.

Of the Names Tadmur, and Palmyra.

HE preceding History having given an Account of the Foundation of Palmyra, I shall in this Chapter account for the Names which were given it, in the Syriac Language Tadmur, but in the Greek

Palmyra, (fays Josephus.)

And first of Tadmur, חרמר בפרבר. in the Hebrew, 2 Chron. 8.34. @cod pice er ephuw, as the Septuagint. Or as the Alexandrian Copy, much nearer to the Original, Oed pice. The F. Harduin therefore very ineptly, in his Notes on Pliny, calls it Theudemer; and Josephus as inartificially, Oadapieca. It mast be confest, that St. Hierom, in Ezek.47. (and he is followed by Monsieur Spon, and others) affirms, that Thamar in the Prophet, who is staring the Limits of Judga to the South, is no other than Tadmur; His verò terminus plagas australis; australis; b. e. meridianæ, incipit à Thamar, quæ urbs in solitudine est, quam & Solomon miris operibus instruxit, & hodiè Palmyra nuncupatur, Hebreóque sermone Thamar dicitur, quæ in lingua nostrà Palma sonat : And I was once enclinable to have corrected the Translation of the Septuagint from the Hebrew; and instead of what we now read, Καὶ το τορός νότον κ λίβα ἀπό Odynair in powinava Ews Joal a Maequal Kadiju, to have read, 'Ami Oas μας τε η Φοινικών Qu. from Thamar, the City of Palm-Trees, or Palmyra: But I have fince altered my Opinion, because Thamar is expresly said to be the Border of Judea to the South, whereas Palmyra lies near directly East from Ferufalem, and am apt to believe that St. Hierom was deceived by the like fignification of the words; Tamar in Hebrew (not Tadmur) fignifying a Palm. Tree, while Palmyra is not allowed to be of a Roman, but Greek Original; and if so, cannor be derived from Palma, a pure Latin word; and that the Septuagint read the Text aright, Theman being toward the South of Judea, Theman, says the Targam of Jonathan, i.e. 7eautralis:

i.e. Jericho, a Town (says Eusebius de Locis Hebr) 15 Miles distant from Petra in Arabia, and is, in the Old Testament, often put for the whole Countrey South of Judæa; the Pointer in the Septuagint being not sar distant from it, as Strabo (l. 16. p. 259.) affirms, 'That Petra is the Metropolis of Arabia Nabatæa; That the Countrey round it is 'Desart, especially towards Judæa; That it is situate three or four Days Journey from Jericho, and sive from the 'Palmetum, or City of Palm-Trees, as I would render it.

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I was also once of the Opinion, that Palmyra had its Denomination from the Palm-Trees, as St. Ferom fays exprefly, though Tadmur be not a word of that fignification, (but feems to me to be derived rather from דמר implying its admirable and stupendous Situation. probably because a fertile Spot of Ground in the midst of a vast Defart.) But because Josephus seems to determine it to be of Greek Original, I cannot think it derived from Παλμώτης, an Ægyptian Deity; for what had the Gods of Ægypt to do near the Banks of Euphrates? nor from Taxus, a King or Father; but from Haxun, which fignifies

fignifies a Persian Shield; or Parma, as the Latins render it, (Hesych. Hann Τέρρον, Gloffar. Vet. Τέρρον Θίο . aconde Megonins.) For the Palmyrenians were near Neighbours to the Persians, while at a great distance from either Rome or Egypt, and from them with whom they maintain'd a continual Commerce, might receive the Name of their City, which very well agrees to a ftrong Frontier Town, built for the defence of the Borders; and this exactly

quadrates with the Arabick calc

Damar, Præsidium. And we may as well derive Palmyrene from a Perfick Original, as the neighbouring Province Ofrhoene (the two Provinces being often confounded, for Photius Coal ofe. flyles Zenobia Two Ospanow Bankis Queen of Osrboene,) which was without any dispute so denominated from Ofroes (or Chofroes) the King of that

Procop. l.1. Perf. c. 17. Country, and a Confederate of the Per-P. 49. fians, who gave his Name to Edeffa, and the Territory round it. For I cannot be of the mind of Malela, though he feems,

by his often mentioning it, to be fond of his Etymology, that it was called Palmyra, Da to makar posens yertaar p. 153.

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Par. I.

p. 182.

Par. 2.

the Place where Goliath received his Fate at the Hands of King David; though the Humour of giving Names to Cities or Countreys, from such Fabulous Encounters, hath not been altogether disus'd; for says Damascius (apud Phod. Cot. 242.) some affirmed, that his Native City, Damascus, was so called from Ascus, a Giant whom Jupiter there overcame, (And To da pair à Annow:) And, I fear, some of our Historians, zealous for the Honour of Brute, will be sound guilty of the same Crime.

But though I cannot believe the Fiction of David's flaying Goliath at Palmyra, yet it is very probable, that that fout and victorious Prince might have extended his Empire as far as Palmyra, Spanhem. when he invaded Hadad-Ezer King of Hist. Job. Soba, (2 Sam. 8.3. 1 Chron. 18.3.) the Eu- & Hyde phrates being the Eastern Limit of Syria Peritzol. Sobah (from beyond which River Ha- p. 60. dad-Ezer brought his Auxiliaries, i.e. from Mesopotamia, 2 Sam. 10. 16. there called Syria beyond the River,) as Damascus was the Western: And Palmyra is said, 2 Chron. 8. 3,4. to be situated in Hamath Soba, or Syria Soba; and the two Cities of Arabia the Defart, Sabe

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and Barathena in Ptolomy, seem to be Soba and Berothai, Cities of the Sabe-ans, mention'd in the Sacred Writings.

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myra is now called Amegara; but Sanson says it is called Faid, as do Nicolosius in his Hercules. Siculus and others: Where

his Hercules Siculus, and others; whereas it still retains its old Denomination Tadhmur, as it always did among the

L. 2. p.72. Syrians and Arabs. The old Geographer of Ravenna reckons it among the Cities of Cale Syria, (for so I will adventure to correct that Author, Syria Cilenfin Comagenis, which Monsieur Porcheron reads' Syria Seleucis, but it should be read Syria Cele in Comagenis,) but calls it Malmiora, which the Editor fays is mistaken for Palmyra, and with him I agree. Tho' perhaps Tamira in the same Author may be set for Tadmira (as Hepolis for Heliopolis) for that Geographer lived in the 7th Century, when that City having fallen into the Hands of the Arabs, had recover'd its ancient Syriack, or Arabick Name.

> I have in the History affirm'd, from the Authority of * Ulpian, that Caracalla made Palmyra a Colony Juris Italici; but if I might be allowed a Conjecture, I could think, that Septimius Severus made

* Lib. 1. Censibus.

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made it a Colony, as he did several other Cities in that Country, Rhefaina, Tyrus, Laodicea, Nifibis, and Singara, which from his Name were stilled in the Coins Septimia Rhesaina, Colonia Septimia Tyrus, Septimia Colonia Laodicea, Septimia Colonia Nifibis, (or as it is always in the Coins, NonBis,) but that his Son Caracalla gave it the Priviledges of an Italian City, as Ulpian affirms; for it feems to me past all doubt, from the frequent use of the Names Septimius, and Septimia, by the Inhabitants of Palmyra, who gave it as a Prænomen to the People of both Sexes, of the best Families and Condition, that the Citizens of Tadmur had a very reverend regard for the Emperor Septimius Severus; but we want Coins to determine this Question.

In an Inscription, about the Year 296. Pag. 99.

(for I am willing to supply the Date Journal. from the former Inscription, pag. 98.
because they both treat of the same
Person) Tadmur is called Mnlegnorwiz,
as if it were the Mother of other Colonies, says the Editor, (a word that occurs not in any Author) which was a very honourable appellation, the Colonies being obliged me sheet vom some p. 15. Ed.
address (i.e. music is magged elas) to ox. cum
N 3

Honour

Honour their Mother City, and to give it the Preference the Law had appointed; but the word should be divided into Mileg, i. e. Milegrous and Kodovia. Palmyra being both a Metropolis and a Colony, as were several other Cities in Syria, as appears from the Coins, Colo. nia Damascus Metropolis. 'Avrioy low unleg. notwo. Sephyrus Metropolis Co.

lonia. Tyrus Metropolis Colonia.

Now, though to be a Roman Colony, was a great Honour, and entitled the City to great Priviledges; yet it must be acknowledged that it left the City deprived of its former unlimited Liberty: for in time past it was govern'd by its own Statutes; but when made a Co-16. c. 13. lony, was under the Roman Jurisdiction, paid Submission to their Laws, and Tribute to the Emperors, from which it was before exempt; and if a Frontier Town, as Palmyra was, it admitted of a Roman Garrison (the First Legion of the Illyrians being posted there) with the Liberty reserv'd to the Citizens, that they were to be Listed as Romans into their Legions, not as Auxiliaries.

Agel. lib. Harduin. Antirrhet. \$. 37, 52.

> In the Ecclefiastick Notitia, Palmyra was at first a Metropolitan, as long as it was the Chief City of the Province,

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i. e. till its Destruction by Aurelian. At the Division of the Empire by Constantine the Great, it was a Suffragan See under the Archbishop of Damascus, who, in the Sixth Act of the Council held at Chalcedon, thus subscribes for the Bishops of his Province, Oco Swp & θπισκοπ & Μαλεοπόλεως Δαμάσκε, κόπων Ιωάννε πόλεως Παλμίες, &c. From whence also it appears that that Church was Orthodox in those days: and that Palmyra was the first of the Suffragans to that Metropolitan; but afterward it became subject to the Metropolitan of Edeffa, as appears by the Notitia of the Emperor Leo; fince which time it hath no longer a place in the Ecclefiaftical Account, Christianity having been, for fome Ages, totally banisht from Palmyrene

Whether the Merchants, who Travell'd from Syria to Seleucia, and Baby. Strab. lib. lon, thro' the Country of the Arabes 16. p. 747. Scenitæ, thro' the Malii, and their Defarts, and Ferried over the Euphrates near Anthemusia in Mesopotamia, a City Situate near the river Aborrhas, took Palmyra in their way, I cannot determine : nor whether Alexander the Great marche his Army thro' or by that City, N 4 when

when having left Egypt, and past thro Phanicia to Thapfacus, he carried his Troops over the Euphrates; fince none of the Writers of the Atchievements of that Miraculous Prince take any notice of Palmyra; tho' it be to me unquestionable, that Palmyra submitted to that irrefistible Conqueror, as did many other Cities, of whom the Historians

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make not any mention.

The Situation of the City, as to its Longitude and Latitude, is differently accounted for by the Writers of the Country, the Arabs (as the very Learned Dr. Hyde informs me) Ismael Abul-Feda, the Prince of Hamab, i. e. of that part of Syria, wherein Tadmur was Situate, (who was Born in the Year 672. of the Mahometan Æra, and constituted the Lord of the Country in the Year 710. of the same Computation) confesses, that his Country-men, who make it part of Arabia, are not agreed, three feveral Authors placing it in different

The first fixes it in Long. 67.40. Lat. 34.00. The second in Long. 67. 40. Lat. 30. 00. The third in Long. 64. 00. Lat. 33. 50.

But Calcashendi, another Arabian Author, gives this Account out of other Writters,

Geograph. MS.

Tom. I.

p. 321.

Writers, as the Excellent Master of the Oriental Languages, Dr. Hyde Tranflates him-" As for the Territory of " Tadmur— the Author of the Book " Al Taraph says, it is Situate between " the Two Villages and Rahba, and is " reckon'd to be in Arabia, in the fourth " of the Seven Climes: The Author of " the Book of Longitudes fays, its Lon-" gitude is 62 degrees, and its Latitude "34 degrees. The Lord of Hamath " (i. e. Abulpheda) says, it belongs to "the Territory of Hems (i. e. Emesa) " on the East-side of it, and that most " of its Soil is faltish; that in it there " is a fort of foure Plant called Nagjel, " and also Olives. There are likewise " very great, and Ancient Ruins, con-"fifting of Pillars, and Rocks, and a "Castle with a Wall. The Author of "the Book, called, Al Raud Almîtar " fays, that it was Originally an Anci-"ent City, which the Spirits Built for "Solomon, with extraordinary Fortifi-"cations. It was called Tadmur from "Tadmur the Daughter of Hassan, "whose Sepulchre is there, and Solo-" mon did Inhabit it after her. The Au-"thor of the Book Al-Azîzi saith, that "between Tadmur and Damascus are 59

"Miles; between Tadmur and Rahba
"102 Miles. The Lord of Hamath fays,
"it is from Hem's about three Stations.
The only difference in the Accounts is in this, that the Longitude of Palmyra in words at length, out of the Book of Longitudes, is 62. which in Abulpheda's Geography is 67. where it is express in Letters; which must be attributed to the Carelesness of the Transcribers.

I was a little furpriz'd, when reading Al Edrifi (commonly, but wrongly, call'd the Nubian Geographer) I found a Tademyr in Spain, which comprehended the Kingdoms of Murcia and Tarragon, and was enclined to believe that the Caliph fent a Colony from the Syrian Tadmur (as well as from the other Cities of his vast Dominions) to People Spain, when he had conquer'd it, who from their own Native City gave the Name to that part of Spain: But my Learned and much honoured Friend Dr. Bernard, has inform'd me, that the Spanish Tademir may be derived, as to Name, and no otherwise, from the Syrian Tadmer, or from אדמרא, Tadmera, Mescella Populi, from a mixture of feveral Nations inhabiting there; as Tidal, in Holy Writ, is called the King of the Nations; and

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and Galilee Stiled Galilee of the Gentiles.

The Arabs of this Age say, that in ancient time Solomon Ebn el Doud (or the Son of David) built a City in that Place, which being destroyed, was reedify'd by a strange People; and the present Inhabitants pretend to show you the top of a Mountain where one of Solomon's Concubines lies buried, as if that Great King had fix'd his Court there, having destin'd it to his Retirement and Pleasures, as Josephus seems to affirm.

CHAP. II.

Of the Names of the Palmyrenians.

Proceed to consider the Names of the Inhabitants, and I question not, but as their first Language was Hebrew, or Syriack, so the People had Syriack, or Hebrew Names. This wants no further Consirmation, the Inscriptions put it past all doubt, Odenathus, Airanes, Vaballathus, Macimus, Orodes, Zahdas, Matthas, Jaribolus, &c. being all pure Syriack; and had the Curiosity of our English Travellers directed them to have transcribed

transcribed the Syriack Inscriptions, as well as the Greek, at Tadmur; I doubt not, but as we might from them have retrieved the old Syriack Alphabet, so we also might have been enabled to correct more than one Mistake either of the Graver, or Transcriber (as I shall unquestionably demonstrate there are such in the Names of the People of that famous City. This Method, I doubt not, the Palmyrenians made use of, that their publick Monuments, as long as they continued, might preserve the knowledge of their ancient Native Language: and I hope some attempt will be made to recover at least the understanding of their Letters: For Monsieur Petit's Specimen, in Spon's Miscellanies, is all Dream; and that Learned Man, if he had been in Earnest, would doubtless have given us his Alphabet, and the Inscriptions accordingly reduc'd into the Hebrew, or some other known Charader. 'Tis true, he fays they are the Phanician (probably the same with the old Syriack) Letters, (for Gruter's Opinion, that they are Arabick, is not to be defended,) but I refer the Reader to Antony Gallandius's Confutation of Mr. Petit, in the same Miscellanies. After

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After the Romans had extended their Empire into the remoter Parts of Syria. the Men of Palmyra, agreeable to the Practice of the other Nations of the East, assumed to themselves a Præ-Nomen, the Custom of having Two Names having been taken up by the Greeks and Syrians about the Times of Trajan: and this feems to be confirm'd by the Sepulchral Inscriptions at Tadmur, the N. 3, 4most ancient of which were erected under Trajan, where the Names of Elabelus, Mannæus, Soræchus, Malchus, Vaballathus, Gichus, Mocimus, stand alone, without any Præ-nomina; but in the Inscriptions of After-times, Septimius, Rupilius, Julius Aurelius, frequently occur, which being Roman, were prefix'd to their Syriack Names, (as some of them had two Syriack Names, the last having probably been givent to those who were adopted into other Families, as Phanius Mocimus, qui & Airanes, Julius Aurelius Zenobius qui & Zabdilas -) the Fore-Name Septimius was in very frequent use at Tadmur, probably in Honour of Septimius Severus the Emperor, their Benefactor: The First of their Emperors was Septimius Odenathus; their only

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only Empress, Septimia Zenobia; their Great Men, Septimius Orodes, and Septimius Airanes. Now, the Præ-Nomen being either Greek or Roman, the second the proper Syriack Name of the Person. was post-pon'd to that, which was asfum'd, ex. gr. Septimius Zenobius, Longinus Cassimus, Julius Aurelius Zenobius, Alexander Capadetus, Julius Aurelius Ealmes (if it should not rather be read Palmes, for he is said to be a Roman, and a Gentleman of one of their Troops: Now, Palma is a known Name among the Romans; Palma, the Conful and the Lieutenant-General to Trajan, in his Parthian Expedition, is very famous, who being of a contrary Faction to Adrian, was flain at Terracina, by the Order of the Senate.) And for this reason, I cannot agree with the Learned Mr. Halley, correcting the Coins of Vaballathus, and reading Airanes for Hermeias; for it's plain, that in those Names the first is Greek, or Latin, the latter Syriack; which also confirms me in my Opinion, that Vaballathus was the Son of Herodes (or Herodianus) and that the Father's Name was Athenas Herodes; of which more hereafter.

It is also observable, that the Palmyrenians,

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renians, like their Neighbours the Arabs, with their own Names gave their Pedigree, reckoning up their Ancestors, many times, to their Great-Grand-Father: This the Saracenic History puts out of all dispute as to the Arabs; and the Inscriptions, as to the Inhabitants of Tadmur.

Now to flew that the Names are of Syriack or Hebrew Extraction, as the præ Nomina of Greek or Latin, is an casie Undertaking. Jaribolus, or Jariboleus, is Jerubbaal (Gideon's Name;) Bareiches is Barachias, Baruchus, or Barachus, (of which Name were Baruch Tom. 3. the Prophet Jeremy's Scribe; and a p. 346. Bishop, Baegy & Emisnomos Bangidov, and Borochus the Judge in Jamblichus) Ouorodes is Orodes, and Herod; Soræchus, Saruch, Nabar's Father, Gen. 11. and in Jamblicus's * Babylonicks, Sore- * Apud. chus, the Son of Sorachus the Publican, Phot. Cod. makes a confiderable Figure; Simon is purely Hebrew; Vaballathus is Balathus with the Arabick Præfix; Bal, Belus, Bolathus, and Balathus, the same Name in Damascius; Ballatha is the Name of a Syrian City, in Ptolemy; and Sanballat (i. e. the Prince Ballathus) appears, in Holy Writ, the Governor

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vernor of Mesopotamia, έπαςχ. πέραν τέ ποταμέ, Nebem. 2. 9. and Vaballathus, in Vopiscus, is called Balbatus, for Ballathus. Bolanus was one of the Euseb. 1. 7. Bishops, who, in the Synod of Antioch, c. 30. condemn'd Paulus of Samosata. Matthas among the Men, and Martha among the Women, are also Hebrew; Matthas , Matthat , Matthan , Mattathas; Airanes, Aarones; Jaraius, Jair; Elabelus is Elbelus, or the God Belfometimes Alagbelus, Alagabalus, corruptly Heliogabalus. Mannæus is the Judg. 13.2. same Name with Maneab, or, as the LXX. Marwe, or Manahath, I Chron.

*L.8. c.13. * Eusebius mentions two Martyrs of that Name, who suffer'd in the Dio-

rable Physician, the other a Presbyter of the Church of Sidon. Against Zenobius of Emesa, Ephremius the Patriarch of Antioch wrote a Learned Treatise. And Zenobius a Bishop of Cilicia was Martyr'd in the same Persecution, with his Wife, and his Sister Zenobia, says Simeon Metaphrastes; and the Wife of Basiliscus the Emperor was also call'd Zenobia. Malech, Malchu,

Zenobius was a common Name

among the Phanicians and Syrians.

clesian Persecution, the one an admi-

Phot. cod. 228.

VCINOS

and Malebion (of which Name was an Eminent * Presbyter of Antioch, who oppos'd Paulus of Samofata the Heretical Patriarch of that See) are from the same Original; as is Malechus Podosaces, who was the Prince (or Phylarchus) of the Arabians, in the times Am. Marof the Emperor Julian; and Melham, cel. 1.24: the Name of the late Prince of Tadmur, who treated the English Merchants with so much Injustice. Zebeidas Zabdas, and Zabdilas, are the same; of which Name were Zabdas Bishop of Jerusalem after Hymenaus, and Zabdi (Josh 7.3.) while the ignorant Transcribers of the Historian Vopiscus have turn'd Zenobia's General Zabdas into a Woman, (Vopisc. p. 217. contra Zenobiam, & Zabam ejus Sociam.) Samsus, Samson, Zaular in the LXX. are of the same Original; and from thence is Sampfa (or Zaula) E year mareas) E(dr. 4. 8. and Sam-Saiceramus one of the Princes of Syria under Pempey, another of that Name, being the Priest of Venus under Gallienus; and Sampsa a City in Arabia, lays Stephanus, Zaula maga This Aeath naigh. And Epiphan. Har. 53 - Σартайон яхианой. And in

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Odanathus is also of a Syrian Family; of which Name was a Philosopher, the Scholar of the Junior Plutarch, fays Vid. 'o Suidas out of Damascius ('Odawatha Sairal De Don Suelas) who ought to be remembred, if only for that one excellent Sentence of his, That it is very difficult, and next to impossible, for Men either to think or speak of God, as He is. John Malela always calls the Emperor Enathus; and he, being of Antioch, may have been prefumed to have understood the Language, Names and Manners of De Marty-his own Country, Syria. And Eusebius, rib. Palast. among the Martyrs of Palestine, who P- 333. fuffer'd in the Dioclesian Persecution, reckons Ennathas a Woman of Scytho-And I have been enclined to be-

polis. And I have been enclined to believe, that Enathus and Ignatius were the same Name (Ignatius only better turn'd to please the Ear of the Greeks and Romans,) and that, in Honour of Odanathus, Gallienus assum'd the Name, who, in two rare Coins in Monsieur

*Pag.413. * Patin, and as rare an Inscription in † In H. A. † Fulvius Orsinus, is styled Publius Li-Script. p. cinius Ignatius Gallienus; or as F. Har-509. duin, p. 330. from another Coin, Eg-

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As to the Name Mocimus, I have been under suspence, whether I should correct the Books from the Monuments, or believe that the Transcriber of the Inscriptions might mistake a K for an N, which letters are not of a very different make, and turn and read Monimus for Mocimus. * Jamblichus, who was * Apud Jui-born at Chalcis, not far from Edessa, Iv. p. 281. fays, that Monimus was the Mercury of the People of Edessa: And † Damascius, † Apud in the Life of Hidore the Philosopher, Phot. Cod. lays that Jamblichus derived himself ena. from Monimus and Sampfaiceramus, the Roytelets of Syria; and the Criticks V. xanhave corrected Stephanus, περί πόλεων. μις. reading Moving for Moving. But fince the Name occurs so often in the Inscriptions at Palmyra, and is always written Moung, I am enclined to think that that was the right reading, and ought not to be alter'd, and that from thence Jamblichus and others are to be corrected.

Nor is it to be omitted, that the Palmyrenians, as well as other Nations, gave the Names of their Gods to their Princes,

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IV. P. 281.

Phot. Cod.

and Thutrious Perfons, as appears by the frequent use of Jaribolus, Mocimus, Vaballathus, Elabelus, and Sampfaice-ramus, among them; as of Adonijah, and Elijab, &c. among the Jews; of Belfhazzar, and Nebuchadnezzar, among the Babylonians; of Mithrobarzanes, and Mithradates, among the Persians; of Taautus, Serapion, Heracles, Heraclammon, Ammonius, Indorus, Pfammatofiris, Orus, Orion, &c. among the Agyptians; of Cronius, Polidonius, He-pheltion, Dionysius, Apollos, among the Greeks; of Ithobalus, and Abibalus, among the Tyrians; of Annibal, Afdrabal, and Maherbal, among the Carthaginians; of Saturninus, Jovianus, Mar-And in like manner the the Romans. Custom prevailed over the Northern, and other Nations, as might eafily be proved.

and ought not to be after d, and that I got thence Fac Medius and others

ententair, as well as other Nations, gove of Managor their Code to their Princes,

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Of their Publick Offices.

Rom the Names of the Inhabitants, I proceed to consider the several Officers that managed the Affairs of the Commonwealth; for the Senate, in whole hands the Government was, and to whom was the Dernier Resort, constituted several Officers for the due Administration of the Duties of Religion and Justice.

Ayoegyou G.

And because the Eastern Nations were much addicted to Idleness, and let. 1. 9. great Lovers of Diversion few of the \$.290. Turks, Arabs or Perhans of the present L. 12. . T. Age being enclinable to hard labour. 272,273 most of their time being spent in Imoaking Tabacco, and drinking Coffee,) infomuch that they too often prefer'd their voluptuous Satisfactions (for they Malel.1.12. frent thirty Nights together in con- 1-313. tinued Revellings) to their Safety : (for when Sapores after he had made Valerian his Presoner, lackt the City of Autiech, they were lo intent and bulled

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in seeing the Actors of a Farce, that Ammian. 1.3. 6.5. till one of their Mimicks, turning him round, told them with aftonishment, that the Swords of the Perfians were at their Throats, they saw nothing of their Danger: And when the Emperor Au-Zofim. lib. relian return'd the second time to Palир. 55. myra, he surpriz'd the same Antiochians, so intent upon the fight of their Horse-Races, that when they thought him in Thrace, he was in their Market-place.) I will first treat of their 'Ayogavaromos, 50. or Adilis, the Rich and Eminent Perfon, who furnish'd the Money for their Publick Spectacles, and was at the Charge of the Plays, though they had Vid. Magreat Bequests often made to this purlel. 1. 9. pole, and fometimes the Expence was p. 290. defray'd out of the Publick Treasury; L. 12. p. 372,273. (for that they had fuch an Officer at Tadmur, the Inscriptions put out of all dispute.) Their Original Office, it is true, was like that of our (a) Clerks of the

Market (if not at first deputed to inspect

the Temples, and their Revenues, and

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tion of

⁽π) Harpocrat. Appenduel, et τὰ κ τ Αρρεκό είναι εξεινώντας άφοραντικ. So the Etymolog. M. Hefye. Αρρεκόμι ο είν τη προρά νέμων τη είναιον. Glossar vet. Edilis, Αρρεκόμι ο Αρρεκομία, Ædilis, Αρρεκόμι ο είναι το Αρρεκόμι ο Εδιλίουν. Αποπιά. διειρ. είναι είναι το τεροκό τ άρρεκόμιον σερνοκάναι. And Dio, in his Hittory, always uses Αρρεκόμιο σερνοκάναι.

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to file the Records,) where they enquired into whatever was bought or fold, and regulated the Prices; and their number at Athens (says Aristotle, in his Book of that Commonwealth, cited by Harpocration) was Twenty, Five in the Pireæus, and Fifteen in the City. But that which made them most acceptable to the Common People, was their Secundary Employment, to entertain the Citizens with whatever might contribute to their Diversion, upon their own Pocket, and perhaps it.

own Pocket; and perhaps it often happen'd, that the same Persons who surnish'd the Expence, was the President, and Judge of the Games (both the 'Ayogarósus, and 'Ayoro-Situs,) who, if the whole Province met (the Kouròr & Hadpupping) was from the Name of the Country call'd the Had

Ludos facere Ædilem Cic. l. 1. de Orat. argentum ad ludos commodare. l. 28. D. de auro, argento, doc. adiles plebis ludorum maxime gratia creatos. Vid. Gronov. Objerv. l. 4. c.21.

of the Country call'd the Παλμως πνάςχης, as there were 'Απάςχαι, Λυκιάςχαι,
Γαλαπάςχαι, &c. And therefore Ruffinus, in his Version of the Martyrdom
of St. Polycarp, renders 'Απάςχης, in
Eusebius's Greek by Munerarius, the
Person who managed the Expence of
the Spectacula, very properly.

O Δ This

Reinesii-Inscript. class. 6. This Generosity made so deep and lasting an Impression upon the Populace, who are generally led by Appearances, and satisfy'd with Show, that they often erected Monuments to the Memory of their Benefactors, for this very reason. So the City of Tanarium (in the Gulf of Sparta) celebrated the Glory of Tiberius Claudius Charito, in this noble Inscription:

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Ή πόλις ή Ταινασίων Τιβέριον Κλαύ
† f. xaci- διον * Χάρτωνα τ΄ άρισον πολείτιω πωρρο
πωνα. σιώνης τε κ. περί τ΄ άγορανομίαν άνυπερ
βλήτε φιλοτιμίας ένεκεν Ιπ. β. Ηος εβ.

Ανφήσματι βελής. Subaudi ἐτίμησεν.

" honoured Tiberius Claudius Charito, their most excellent Citizen, for his

great Prudence, and his unspeakable

"Magnificence, when he was the Ædile

" (or Ayoguros) of their City. This "Monument was credied by the Order

nonra Verkon ne

" and Decree of the Senate.

Vid. 6rgnovii memor.Cosson. p. 146. In like manner Claudius Paulinus
was rewarded by the Senate and People
of Smyrna (for I conjecture that the
Marble found in that Ony belongs to it)
with

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par: I.

p. 390.

with a noble Monument erected to the Memory of his Daughter; because he he had been the General of their Horse, one of the chief of their Council, their Ædilis, and Questor, and President of their Senate (a) (which last was the highest Civil Honour he could attain to: for even at Rome the Conful prefided Plin. Pain the Senate, when the Emperor was negyric. present, if the Emperor himself was not Conful.) Thus the City of Antioch Tranfall. erected a Marble Statue in Daphne to Artabanus, one of their Citizens, who Malel: 001 was the first Syriarcha who prelided par. I. over the Olympick Games celebrated in p. 384. W that City in the Reign of the Emperor 105. Commodus, with this Inscription, Tothe eternal memory of Artaban. Malel.

And thus the Senate and People of Palmyra, among the other Atchieve-ments of Julius Aurelius Zenobius, and of Septimius Orodes, celebrated them, that they had magnificently and splea-

⁽a) Helyabius gives another sence of Υππαςχ .

Ο των νέων επιμελικώς ερά Λάκωσι. — Id. Υππάςχε πίναξ, Vel Υππάςχαι εν πίναξι, τα δνόματα πων ατακτέντων γεόφοντες παρεσημείεντο. — Id. Πρυτανίς, Βασιλεύς, Αςχων. V. Not, in par. 1. marm. Οκοπ. p. 106.

didly discharged this Office; particularly Zenobius, that he managed that Province, when he undertook it, with an extraordinary Liberality. For they distinguisht between what was done at the expence of the Publick, and came out of the Treasury, and what was expended by the Officer out of his own Coffers; and themselves took care, if the Commonwealth did not, to record this Circumstance; so Bolanus is said to have built an Altar, I Bion, at his own charge; and Agathangelus, to have erected a Canopy, and a Bed of State, IK West: And so Septimius is said to have supplied the Company (or Caravans of Travellers) I www. And Mareades, who had been one of the Magistrates of Antioch, was, in the Reign of Gallienus, by the Vote of the whole Senate and People, ejected out of the Government; because, whatever Party he was obliged to provide for in the Publick Horse-Races, he not only refuled to lay out any Money of his own, but cheated the Publick of what was destind by the City to those Diverfions, (the Emperors afterwards Enacting, That wholoever was ap-

pointed

Transact. p. 99,103, 109.

Vid-pag.

Malel. par. I. p. 390. 1-

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pointed to inspect the Ludi Circenses, L. 10. tit. which was the Office of the Duumviri. 31. \$ 20. and alienated or diverted to another use any part of the Revenue destin'd to that Service, should be obliged to re-This Difgrace occasion'd his flying to Sapores the King of Perfia, in those dissolute Times, to whom he gave an Account of the unhappy State of his Native Countrey, and the Carelesness of the Inhabitants, which occafion'd the ruine of that noble City, as is already mention'd, the Traytor himfelf being facrificed by that very Prince whom he had invited into Syria, to the angry Manes of his abused Country; Beheaded (says Malela,) Burnt alive (lays * Ammianus Marcellinus.) And * Vbi Jup. † Xenophon, introducing Socrates in- † Occomostructing Critobulus as to what would be expected from a Man of his Figure and Fortune at Athens, after he had inform'd him, that he must very frequently be at the charge of noble Sacrifices, and magnificent Entertainments and Feafts, he adds, That it would be expected from him, that he would be obliged to keep Horses for the Publick Races (Γαποτροφίας, Χορηγίας, η Γυμνασιαρχίας,) and if he should ever refuse so to treat the

01. 6.20.

the Citizens, they would punish him as severely as if he had robb'd their Houses. So passionately were the People of those Ages and Countries addicted to the Spectacula, and so much did they think them their due.

ne which to a Benevits.

The Senators of Palmyra were Men of Eminence and Condition, and the most Honourable Members of the Republick, and therefore are stiled in the Inscriptions (Λαμπερπαίοι Συγηπικοί) Most Illustrious: But of those Senators, some, I conjecture, were a standing Council of State, (as the Heuravers were at Athens, and in most Commonwealths, some similar Court;) for Rupilius Orades is said to be both a Senator * N. Marm. and a Counfellor (Συδηλητικός, η Βε-οχοπ. π. 46. λευτής:) So that as the * Βελευτα and Πρυτανείς were diffinguisht at Athens, so at Pulmyra the Eulantinoi and Bs-Neural had their Distinctions. For as the Romans had their Senate, so other Cities had theirs; their Court of Aldermen, who govern'd the People (their Dumpiri representing the Confuls,) of which Senators some were Emment and Principal for Authority and -idi

Oxon.n.46.

and Influence; and such, probably, were the Bedevice at Palmyra, Men who had borne the Office of the Duum-virate, and for that reason were not only of the Senatorian, but Consular Memor. Coffin.

Dignity, (on Zulnannia is Trannia Marm. 2. as it is worded in another Inscription.) p. 140.

The Name Bakeurns, it must be confest, is commonly given to every Memher of that Court; fo the old Gloffary. Bexeuths, Decurio, Carialis; called Decuriones, because whenever the Colonies, or Municipia, were establishe, and the Government of those Cities first instituted, the Decurio (like our Alderman of the Ward) had his particular Province appointed, and his Number of Persons, whom he inspected (Nonius Marcel. Decuriones à numero, cui præerant, dicebantur,) but the whole Order, or aggregate Body, govern'd all the Inhabitants, and are therefore called, in the Laws, and ancient Histories, Decu-riones Civitatum, Municipiorum, & Coloniarum. Great care (lays Tully) was L.6. Epift. used in the choice of such Governors, ad Sept. the Names of the Candidates being, before the Election, proposed to the People, that they might make their just

Vid. Not. in Cod. l.10. T.31.

Exceptions, if they had any, against the Person. When any Publick Business was to be done, the Senators were folemnly summon'd to the Court; for out of their Body the Duumviri were chosen (who were to be nominated three Months before they entred upon their Province;) as also the Ædiles, (and in some Places the Dictators and Prætors,) the Court being obliged to give immediate Notice to every Officer, if absent, whom they had elected: The Inspection of the Treasury was committed to them; they were entrufted with the Management and Difposal of all Bequests, and of the Publick Money; they were to take care that the Granaries should always be full, that the City might not want Bread: They imposed and levied Taxes: In short, the whole Management of the Commonwealth was in their hands.

It must be granted, that the Discharge of the Office was very expensive, and they were accountable for whatever Publick Money should be embezled or misapplied, and were incumbred with a troublesom Province; for the Senator was not to leave the

Vid. B.
Briffo. l.4.
Select. Antiquit.

City,

City, to go to the Court, either upon the Publick, or his own private Affairs, without leave from the President of the Province: They were prohibited the applying themselves to a Military Employment; and if any Man scrupled to serve his Countrey, after he was chosen, the Law compell'd him for two Years together to do the Office of a Duumvir (unless the Court exempted him, or he had the confent of the Citizens to excuse him;) nor would flying to a Monastery give a Protection; a Religious House was not then a Sanctuary to skreen a Man from Civil Employments. And therefore in the * Novels of the Emperor * Nov. 46. Leo (after whose Reign the word doth not occur in the Laws, nor is it to be found in the Bafilica) the Office of the Ducurio is styled Bageia is δυσύποισος Acilseyia, an Employment very burthenlom and grievous, and probably, the Person, when chosen, was obliged to give to the Publick Treasury a Summ of Money; it being mention'd † as a + Grut. great Honour done to Titius Chresimus, 475. 3. that for the Merits of his Father, the Senate admitted him into their Society gratuitously, Ob merita Patris bonorem DecurioDecurinatus gratuitum decrevit Ordo

But as the Office was thus molested (inalmuch as it was formetimes inflicted as a Punishment for some Offences) so their Privileges were very great, and their Station very honourable; they were exempt from all extraordinary Employments, and from enduring the Torture; were not to be condemn'd to the Mines, not to be Burnt alive, thrown to the Wild Beafts, Crucified, or Beheaded, (but if Criminal, were Imprison'd, and Fetter'd, till the Emperor had declar'd his Pleafure, and determin'd their Fate,) and the Honour was derived to the Family, to the Fathers and the Children of the Senators. who were by this means ennobled; the Men of Worth were capable of being chosen Members of the Court at Fifteen; and if any of them arrived to the Age of Seventy, or prov'd the Father of Twelve Children, he was excufed from the Fatigue, while he enjoyed all the Privileges of a Senator; nor could he be compell'd to go out of the Province, unless in cases of most urgent necessity. Their Body was Decurio. flyled

flyled Ordo Decurionum; the Roll in which their Edicts were entred, Album Decurionum; their Habits distin-Crive and ornamental (Decurionalibus Grut. p. Vestimenti Ornatus;) their Houses were 372.7. supplyed with Water upon the Publick Charge (ut Aquæ digitus in Domo ejus Id. 475. 30 flueret, commodisque Publicis, ac si decurio frueretur;) and they were capable of the greatest Bequests, above Fifteen hundred Pound having been given by C. Torafius, to furnish out the Grut. p. Expence of a great Supper, annually 279.34 provided on the Birth-day of his Son, for the Ducuriones of the City, and for a Largess in Money to the Poor. And if any generous Person, when dying, left Legacies to the People, they were entrusted with the Disposal, (as appears by the Inscriptions D. F. D. I.P. h.e. Decurionum fide dividenda in publicum.) And if the Emperor resolved to express his Indignation against any People, he denied them the Privilege of being ruled by a Senate of their own Inhabitants, and left their Lives and Fortunes to the Discretion and Integrity of their Governor, who was a Foreigner. So Au- Dio. 1.512 gustus punish'd the proud City of Alex- P. 451. P andria;

andria; for when he had conquer'd Egypt, he constituted Cornelius Gallus their Governor, but would not permit any Citizen a share in Publick Affairs, while he allowed other Cities their Privileges, (τοῖς ᾿Αλεξανδρεῦσι ἀνευ βελευτών πολιπεύωση εκέλευσε,) and in this state they continued till Septimius Severus gave them (the Jus buleutarum) the liberty to be govern'd by their own Citizens; and his Son Antoninus put them into the capacity of being chosen Senators at Rome, which, I conjecture, was one of the Privileges of the Decuriones in the Colonies.

Spartian. Severus. p. 70.

> That this Title was very Honourable in the Colony of Palmyra, appears from Sextus Rufus, who calls Odenathus, before he assum'd the Purple, by the Name of Decurio Palmyrenus, which Trebellius Pollio explains by Princeps Civitatis; for the Senators were the principal Men of the Cities where they refided.

Еттерпа Двинаріа.

ediabnants,

In Imitation of the Roman Methods of Government, the Palmyrenians had alfo

also their Procuratores Ducenarii; of which Order was Septimius Orodes, under Odenathus; and Paulus of Samofata, the Patriarch of Antioch, under Zenobia. The Original of the Office is to be deduced from the Times of Augustus, who, Sneton. Aufor the better and more regular go- guft. n. 32. vernment of his Subjects to the three Courts of Judicature, which had been formerly erected, added a fourth, ftyled Decuria Ducenariorum of an inferior Order, the Judges whereof, at their first Institution, were appointed to determine Causes of less moment, but were in process of time advanced to a nobler Jurisdiction; they were commonly Men of Quality, of the Equestrian Dignity, though sometimes Liberti, (but in those days the Emperors Freed-Men made no contemptible Figure in the Commonwealth,) the Custom, before the Reign of Augustus, was, that every Dio. 1. 532 Officer furnisht the Expence of his Em- p. 506. ployment without any Charge to the Publick, but that wife and munificent Prince confidering the Temptations fuch Officers, who were no way provided for out of the Exchequer, were exposed to, appointed every one his Salary: And from

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from hence the Ducenarii had their Name, and not from their collecting the Tribute of the Provinces, and the Summs which they exacted (the Ducentesima) though that was a part of their Business, as of the Proconful, where he prefided, but from the Pension, which by the Imperial Constitution was to be paid them (which Capitolinus calls Ducenum H. S. stipendium, as the Law mentions the Procuratores Centenarit and Sexagenarii for the same reason.) For this Dio avers expresly, whatever forme learned Men affirm to the contrary, - Tes किमीट्रेमाड (हम्ल ही महें τας τε ποινάς περσόδες εκλέγοντας, ή σερος εταξμένα σρίου αναλίσκοντας δυομάζομεν) - μ τοις γε επιρόποις, κ αυτό महत्त वैद्वार्थ pal G. ovopa के में वेवार माड τρι διδομένων αὐτοῖς χεημάτων τοςοσyiyve?) the Salary being proportion'd to the Quality of the Person and his Employment: the Summ being limited as well as the Office: For the Procurator was not permitted to levy Soldiers, nor to raile larger Taxes upon the Provincials, than were appointed by the Emperor, or Senate; he was obligede to refign, whenever required; and

Vbi sup.

and not to lingerin the Province after his time was expired, but to return to Rome in three Months.

In a few Years their Authority was racit. Anenlarged, became great and illustrious; nal. 12, Claudius obliged the Senate to enact it, That whatever was determin'd by the Emperor's Procurator, should be lookt on as valid, as if himfelf had decided the Controversie in Person. And when the Senate had Past it as an Act, it was L. I. D. reckon'd among the Laws of the Em- de Offic. pire. The Office was feldom bestow'd Proc. Caf. on a private Person, unless of extraordinary Merit, but upon a Man of Eminence, and a Favourite of the Emperor's: He was impowered to inspect all Id. Vit, Publick Affairs; but the proper Bufi- Agric. ness of the Procurator, was to over-see the Publick Revenue; his Office in the Province entitling him to the same Charge that the Præfedi Ærarii (the Lords of the Treasury) had at Rome; and it was a step to the Senatorian Dignity, as that was many times to the Imperial; for Pertinax was the Procu- Capitolin. rator Ducenarius in Dacia, before he Pertinax, assum'd the Purple. Their Title was P. 54. Keeins &, as appears by the Inscription.

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tion, and by Holy Writ, (for Festus is, Ad. 26. 25. call'd Kegings Dios.) They had their Guards to protect them * E. H. 7. (Dogupogément) fays * Eufebius, their Retinue was great, and their Attendance numerous; fometimes they represented the Presidents of the Provinces (Procurator Cæfaris Vice Præfidis Provincia fungetur, fays the Law; and + Grut. the old Inscriptions & Procur. August. & p. 376. Proleg. Provinciæ Rhetiæ, & Vindelic.) At other times both Offices were uni-

| Id.p.487. ted; for || P. Vibius was both Procu-

rator and Preses of Sardinia; And whenever the President resided in the Province, the Procurator was his Affessor in the Courts of Judicature, and had an equal Vote in the Determination of fuch Causes as were brought before them. This Power of making inspection into all Matters, often encouraged them to be very troublesom, (insomuch that the Emperor Constanstine the Great thought fit to restrain their Power, and regulate their Exactions;) and they were of old more particularly guilty of molesting the Primitive Christians, whom they persecuted with extreme Severity, compelling the weaker

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fort to Blaspheme, or Compound, while they caused the resolute Confesfors to be torrured to Death. This the Novatian Commentary in * Eulogius * Apud. demonstrates, that in the Persecution Phot. Cod. begun by Decius and Valerian, Peren- 214. nius the Ducenarius, by Order of the Emperors, purfued the Christians at Rome, and in the neighbouring Countries, with the greatest severity, murdering some, and compelling others to commit Idolatry. About which time, St. Cyprian informs us, that Martialis Ef. 170. and Bafilides, two Spanish Bishops, had Edit.Oxon. appear'd before the Procurator Ducenarius, and had taken out Libels of Security from him; that they had facrificed to Idols. And that which supported Ranlus of Samofata, Patriarch of Antioch, against the Catholick Church, which had in a Synod folemnly condemn'd Eufeb.7.10. him, was, his Authority of Procurator to Zenobia his Patroness; upon which he valued himself, for it supported his Pride and Grandeur, and therefore chose rather to be called by the Name of Ducenarius, than Bishop, (and accordingly he kept up the state of a Civil Officer, and Minister of Justice, had

182. 148.

had his Tribunal, and a Sublime Throne, together with his Secretum, (Secretarium, or Auditorium) Court of Judicatory, in the innermost part of the Pratorium, separated from the rest of the Hall by Railes and Curtains, that being the Place where the Chief Magistrate used to sit, when he took cognizance of Criminal Causes.) And in an

Grut. 346. old Inscription, Q. Alins Januarius is faid to have been the Procurator of

Ofroene, and Syria Cele. Mich simmon

But this was not the fole fignification of the word Ducenarius ; for by it formetimes was meant, one who commanded Two Hundred Men (so fays Vegetius) as the Centenarius did One Hundred. And thus * St. Jerom musters the Officers of a Regiment, Post Tribunum Primicerius, deinde Senator, Ducenarius, Biarchus, Circitor, Eques. So the old Gloffary, Ducenarius Dianomosos. Dux Ducenarius, in + Goltzius. Vir Ducenarius, as Salmasius reads the old Infcription in || Gruter. Tribunus Militaris Legionis Tertiæ Italicæ; not Ducenarius Tribuni, as Scaliger lays in the excellent Index to that laborious and useful Work; though perhaps the imperfect

+ Thef. p. 102.

L.2. c.8.

* Ad Parumach.

P. 457.

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perfect words of the Infeription may be supplied, and read Procunator Duce- 21 1.1. narius, Tribunus, &c. They are called Protectores Ducenarii in another Inscrip-Grut. p. tion; the Suparopulares, Comman-531. 2. ders of Two Companies of the Lifeguards, who of old, as among us, were treated with the Title of Colonels, and accordingly respected and paid: The difference of Title between these Military Ducenarii and the Procurators confisting in this, that the Office of the former was styled Dignitas Ducentena, of the later Dignitas Ducorana kominum files tabula publicinans

riculaque Magificatum commitantur. He was I'e wall supple Office lays

sedent Ariforder in his Among other Officers of Note and Figure at Palmyra, the Teauparic, or Secretary of the Senate and People, was very eminent; and among others who had been chosen to that Honour, Malech Agrippa is remarkable in the Inscriptions, who a second time managed that Office, when Alexander the Emperor came into Syria.

The Secretaries or Scribes at Rome were very numerous, being divided into their

Tacit. An- their several Classes or Decuria, their nal. L. 13. Office obliging them to attend upon the respective Magistrate, to whom they did belong, whether he were the Prætor, Ædile, Quæstor, General of the Fleet, or the High Priest for the Wardens of the Port at Athens,) for every one of these had his Scriba; the Employment was very honourable, (for the Secretary was very little inferior to the Chief Magistrate, either in Dignity or Authority, being often of the First Rank of the Nobility,) so says Tully, Orat. 8. in Verr. Scribarum Ordo est bonefius - quod eorum bominum fidei tabulæ publicæ, periculaque Magistratuum commitantur. He was Elected into the Office, fays Julius Pollux. And Aristotle, in his Vbi infr. Account of the Commonwealth of Athens, affirms, that he was the Keeper of the Publick Records (and Tully lays the fame) enroll'd all the Decrees of the Senate, and was an Affelfor in the Courts of Judicature. And therefore Suidas is mistaken, when he avers, that they had no other Employment, than to Write, and Read, or Publish the Or-

ders of the Senate: There were Three

Teaunaleis at Athens, of whom the

Jul. Pol. 1. 8. 6. 8, 9, 11.

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First kept all the Publick Writings, the Letters and Decrees of the City, and he was chosen out of the Housevers by the Council: To the Second, the keeping of all the Laws was entrufted, and he also was nominated by the Council: But the Third was the Secratary of the People, chosen by the Commons, and he it was who read all the Writings of the People, Tay's the Scholiast of Thucydides, or rather read all the Publick Orders both to the Senate and People: His Method of Proceeding is thus stated by Ammonius. Ο μέν γεαμματεύς το In Πεεί μεν τος αποισμάτων Εςμην. αναγνιώσκων τω δίμω τότε δνομα έλεγε. म अश्वक्षित में में मक्तिक, में में T Shuor, of Anuaderns कर्द्रिंग्राय, में Δημωθένες Παμανιεύς ψήφισμα εισφέρει τοιονδε το μέντοι δεύτεερον, η η τρίτον, οί έτως έτυχεν έμφανίζων η τα έξ. The Grammateus having several Orders of Council in his Hand, which he was to publish to the People; he began with the first, and read the Name of the Person who proposed the Decree, his Father's Name, and the Name of the Tribe or People to which he belong'd, and then publisht the Decree it self; after which, he

he proceeded to the second, and third,

till he had publisht them all.

The Name of the Secretary was always inferted into every Decree, together with the Emisarus, or Prefident of of the Senate for the time being, or the Prator. Thus the Inscription at Agri-

Grut. 401. gentum (Gergento) in Sicily, Επὶ Ιεροδύτα Νυμφοδώρε τὰ Φίλων. — προαγορενίω. Διοκλέω. τὰ Διοκλέω, γεωμμαλδίοντος 'Αδεσνίωνος 'Αλεξάνδρε.
And very often his Name had the

precedence in the Decree, as appears by
* Andocyd. feveral Instances; ** Edoge TH BEAN IL TE

τ τους τος έγραμμάτος. Νικιάδης επες άτοι. V. Cl. Not. πος εγραμμάτος. Νικιάδης επες άτοι.

And in the Coins, the Name of the Tpammatal's, as of a publick eminent

Officer, from whose Year of Government the People made their Computation, is frequently inserted, particularly in those of the Cities of Caria, where, I suppose, the Tpampally was the Chief Magistrate. One of the Coins

of Mylesa is said to be stampt Prayera-18 Corres Toples, (and Hybreas the Ora-

tor govern'd the City, says || Strabo.) So the Coin of the Magnehans,

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|| Lib. 14. p. 659.

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upon the Mander, in the Reign of Maximinus, was flampt 67 ypappea. Magniars. And another of the Ephehans, Trappealous Aelswe, when Ariston was their Secretary. And fo Honourable was the Office, and fo Great the Act. 19. Authority at Ephesus, that when the whole City was in an Uproar, and all the People of Afra fermented into a violent Tumult, (for it is highly probable, that the Infult was made upon St. Paul, when the Kewdy & 'Asias, the Community of Afia, were met to celebrate their Publick Games,) he, by his fingle Authority and Command, dismist and disperst the riotous Assembly.

And I conjecture, that it was one reason why the same Person was not long continued in this Office, to prevent any mischievous Innovations which might be made in the Republick by an Officer who had so great a Trust, and had it in his Power to make himself very Popular. For it was a Law at Athens, That no Man should be twice V. Petit. Trustally, under the same Magistracy: de legib. Attic. Though the same Person might be chosen a second time, under new Magistrates, as appears by the Palmyrene Inscrip-

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Inscription i for though some Places of Trust were, by special Favour, and upon great Merit, given for Life, some of their High Priests being constituted da Bis yet, though Sigonius affirms the contrary, even the High Priesthood it self was limited, and probably Annual in many Places. So * Papirius Alexander is said to be High Priest the second time (though in the same Inscription he is called the Priest of Bacchus for his Life.) And in a Coin of the Magnesians, near Sipylus, Apphianus is said to be Prætor and High Priest the second time. So several Cities were constituted Newsopoi, the second and third time. And T. Fl. Taanus (Gruter calls him Ælianus) is said to have been the thirteenth time, azwo Serus, in the Kowor & Tanarias. And Cleogenes, in the Decree of the Senate and People sup. p. 232. of Athens, is said to have been the first time Secretary (σεωτον έγραμματούεν,) as Malech Agrippa manag'd that Province a second time at Palmyra. Nor was the Tpappeals always a Civil Officer, or Minister of State, but sometimes an Ecclesiastick, and Minister of Religion; for the High Priest had al-

* Grut. 448. I.

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ways his Secretary; to which Office no Man was at first admitted, but he who was of the Patrician Dignity. Thus Cl. Paulinus, in a curious Inscrip. V. Gronov. tion lately brought from the Levant, Memor. is styled the General of the Horse, the p. 146. Prutanis, Ædilis, Quastor, President Marm.22. of the Senate, President of the Gymnafium (or Gymnafiarch,) Master of the Ordnance (or Armory,) the Custos Rotulorum, and Secretary of the Olympick Games. Where we may observe, that the Γραμμαποφύλαξ and Γραμμαίδις were distinct Offices, the one a Civil, the other a Sacred Employment: But that the first also was very Honourable; for in another Inscription brought from the same Place, T. Fl. Onesimus Pater- Marm. nianus, is styled the Master of the 0x. 116. Ordnance, the Guardian of the Temple of the Nemeses, the General of their Horse, the Keeper of their Records, the First Thoravis (or Emsarus,) the Ædile, the Quastor of the City, and honour'd with many other great Offices: as also, Grut. p. that he was cholen by Vote; that he 219. was to take into his Custody the Tables wherein the Laws were written; that he was obliged to preserve the Originals LIKCES

nals of all the Leagues, and to keep in a ftrong Box all the Books belonging to his Office, and the Publick Affairs and when he shall be required by the Community, he shall bring them into the Senate-House; and whenever the Society shall chuse another (Tpappearopunes) Cuftos Rotulorum, he shall dehum (or Gymnafiarch. flurTaid qu ravil

But in process of time, no Lay-man was permitted to be Secretary to the

High Prieft, he was always chosen out of the inferior Sacred Orders, and in the old Inscriptions is flyled Scriba, à Libris Pontificalibus, who transcribed and preferved all the Ritual, and other Books, that belong'd to the High Prieft's Office, and many rimes he managed the Revenues of the Sacerdotal College, being the Treasurer of the Temple. So Grut. 306. Q. Ingenuus Maximianus was Scriba Publicus Pontif. & Curator Erarii, the Keeper of the Records of the Temple, (and Publick Treaties and Leagues, befides the Deeds of private Families, were for the most part deposited in Temples.) And the Treasurer; so Nebemiah made Shelemiah the Priest, and Zadock the Scribe, and the Levite Pedaiab, Trea**furers**

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furers of the Temple (Nehem. 13. 13.) And Ingenuus is flyled Scriba Publicus, because the High Priest had besides him (as I conjecture) another private Secretary for his own Affairs. So Livius Theona is said to be ab Epistolis Gracis, Id. 587.6. Scriba, à Libris Pontificalibus. Publick Scribes belonging to the High-Priests, were those probably of whom we read in the Sacred Writings, the Chief Priests and the Scribes being commonly joined together, ('Agrespeis is Tpappaleis, Mat. 26. 3. Mar. 10. 33. a very honourable Station, for God is laid to imprint Glory on the Face of the Scribe, Ecclus. 10. 5.) and they continued in Employment among the Jews, when the High-priesthood ceas'd, 600 Years after our Saviour's time; for when Gregentius introduces the emi- Disput.cum nent Jews, who attended their Cham- Herbano pion Herbanus to the Disputation about Religion, at Tephra, he reckons up a multitude of Scribes, and Pharisees, and Lawyers, who were present at the Debate of the Controversie, they being the most illustrious Persons of the Nation; Πλήθος το Τραμματίων, η Νομοδίδασκάλων, - δι μεράλοι τω αυτών. Among

Among the chief Ministers at Antioch Malel.1.12. (a City with which Palmyra had a great Commerce) the Secretary of the Olym-P. 377. pick Games was habited, and worshipt as a God; for when Commodus the Emperor had confirm'd the Bequest of Sofibius to the People of Antioch, that every Fifth Year they might, for Forty five Days together, celebrate the Olympick Games, the next Officer to the Alytarches (who was the President of the Affembly, and made Laws for the good and decent Management of those Sports) was the Teauualds, who represented Apollo; he was chosen by the Senate and People, clad, all the time the Solemnity lasted, in a White Garment, his Head adorn'd with a Crown of pure Gold shap't like the Leaves of Lawrel, and was worshipt as if he had been Apollo. This Officer, if the Olympick Games were peculiar to Antioch in the East, as to Elis in Greece, (so

> fays the learned Commentator on the Oxford Marbles, though the abovecited Inscription in Honour of Paulinus persuades me to believe that the Games were also celebrated at Smyrna.) was also peculiar to that City. But the rest

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of Asia had their other Games in Honour of the Emperors (which were celebrated by the (Kowdo & Asias, Tala-tias, Bidovias,) Communities of Asia, Galatia, Bithynia, &c. wherein the Teammald's had a principal share. This Office, perhaps, was discharged by Malech Agrippa at Palmyra, in the Games celebrated in Honour of Alexander the Emperor, when he came into that part of Syria, in the (Kowoo & Malecharge) general Meeting of the Inhabitants of that Province.

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At Alexandria, one Order of their Priests were called Tspoypappealeis, (and among them, probably, he who was of more eminent Worth and Station was ftyled 'Agxinpapinalsis, Scribarum Primus, as among the Listers, the Aexipaso 8x @ was Lictorum Princeps,) of whose extraordinary Sobriety, Continency, and other Vertues, together with their love of Solitude and Abstinences, Cheramon the Stoick (who was of the fame Order, fay Theodorit and Tzetzes, Ap. Porph. though Strabo speak slightly of him mainex. gives a large Account. And St. Clemens of Alexandria describes their Habit; * O isporpappual & s posegre ? * STPOPP. 2 X 00 1. 6.

έγων τὰ πέρα όπι δ κεραλής, βιβλίονη εν χεροί η μανόνα εν ώ τοτε γραφικόν μέλαν, η χοῖν 🖫 ή γράφεσι, η τὰ έξ That the Sacred Scribe had Wings on his Head (like a Mercury;) that he carry'd a Book in his Hand, and a Pot, or Vessel, (for so I render Karbra, not Regulam, as the Interpreter: For who carries Ink in a Rule? Ink must be carry'd in a Vial, or Pot. So Helych. Kavov, Kavvšv, Kavilpov (lege Kavispov) Kayloniov, as I would correct the learned Grammarian. Id. Καννέν, Κανίσκιον, Διοκάριον and 10 Καννηρόρος, Αμφορεύς Grammarian. The vulspain, n to yaven pepsoa) in which was Ink, and a Pen, to write with: His Provence was to be acquainted with. and to know exactly the Hieroglyphicks of the Egyptians, to understand Colmography and Geography, the Motions of the Sun and Moon, with the Influences of the Seven Planets, the Chorography of Egypt, the Description of the River Nilus, the Use of the several Vessels and Instruments employed in Holy Offices. the state of all Consecrated Places, the feveral kinds of Measures, and whatever elle was necessary for the accomplishing their Sacred Studies. For in Egypt

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Egypt the Priests were obliged to make themselves Masters of the Thirty fix Books of Hermes, which contain'd their Sacred Philosophy, treating of Religion and Nature, (the other Six Books of his Works being Medicinal,) among whom the Prophet (the Chief Priest, or Præfest of the the Temple) was bound to learn Ten for his part (called lepanne) BiBala, the Sacerdotal Books) wherein Hermes treated of the Laws, and the Gods, and the whole Discipline of the Priesthood; the Chanter (°Ωδος, or Υμνωδός,) the Σπολισαὶ (or Γεροσολισαὶ, as Cheramon calls them) with the 'lepo- L.I. Hieroypappealeis, being obliged to learn the glyph. And Orus Apollo fays, that he who would describe an Tepoypappa-1805 in Hieroglyphick, ought to reprefent him by Ink, a Sieve, and a Reed: Of the Reed the Egyptians made their Pens, so that Ink, and a Reed, denoted his Profession; the Sieve (which also was made of the Reed, or Bulrush) his Condition and Quality, that he was well provided for, and had leifure to study, those who want Bread being compell'd to apply themselves to Mechanical Trades. And the same Author Q3

thor informs us, they were Judges of Life and Death, not that they pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation upon Criminals, or granted Pardons or Reprieves; but that in times of Sickness, they determin'd whether the Patient should live or die: 'Esl & maggi τοίς ιερογραμμαίδισι ή βίβλος ίερα γαλεμένη Αμβρής, (which is, I doubt not, an Egptian word, nor does it occur in any Lexicon, only in Hesychius I find 'Αμβείζευ, Θεραπδίευ εν τοῖς Γεροῖς, and perhaps 'Αμβρης is Θεραπδιτική') for the Γερογραμμαλδίς had a Sacred Book, which they called Ambres (probably a Medicinal Treatife, one of the fix Books of Hermes, which he wrote upon that Subject) by the In-fpection of which, they judg'd whether the fick Person would either die, or recover. So much for the Tpappea-12/5.

Συμποάαςχ .

It is unquestionable, that the Heathens treated their Mock-Deities (and they did so in Imitation of what the True God himself commanded the Jews under s of

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under the Mosaical Constitutions) as great Princes we to be ferv'd. Temple was the Palace of the God, the Priests his Servants; he had every Day his Sacrifices, (and the Heathen Notion was, That the Deity liv'd upon the Steams and Blood of those Oblations, as the True God is said to smell a sweet-[melling favour.] The Temple was nobly furnisht with whatever might serve for Pomp or Use, with Tables (on which the Meat-Offerings and Drink-Offerings were presented,) with Pulvinaria and Ledisternia; with Beds, and Pillows of State, whereon he might rest himself, (for they believ'd him Personally present in the Place that was confecrated to his Honour, as the True God dwelt in the Sanctum Sanctorum) and whatever other Utenfils were requisite: And on the Days of High Solemnity, the People were entertain'd at the Expence of the Idol (tho' themselves pay'd for it, part of their own Sacrifices being deputed to that use) with Musick, and a splendid Feast, particularly on the Anniversary Festival of Master of the Feast was constituted to fee

+ Quaft.

Probl. 4.

fee all things managed with decorum, and in good Order. This Officer, probably, is called, in the Sacred Writings,
'Aexile in the Palmyrene Infcription, Συμποσίαεχος 76 78 Διος Βήλε Tepov the Sympofiarch, in the Sacrifices of Jupiter Belus; which Office was discharg'd by Septimius Orodes. Varro calls the Symposiarch, Modimperator Arrian. Bagineus: Plutarch, fometimes, Συμποοίε Πρυτανίς, at other times Συμποσικ Αρχων, or Συμποσικ Βασιλεύς. The Place (as well as the Entertainment) was called Συμπόσιον. Hefyc. Συμπόσιου, τίπος δωχίας η πόσεως. The Seats, or Couches, whereon the Gueffs were placed, Κλίναι Συμποσίε. So the old Glossary. Lectus Genialis, Κλίνη Συμποσίε.) Julius Pollux says the Sympo-L. 6. c. 1. 70018.) fiarch was the Curator, the Director and Governor of the Feaft; (the Esiatue, or E518205, in Aristophanes,) and that he was chosen either by Lot, or by * In Epid. Vote; by Lot, says * Arrian. Plutarch, 1. 1. c. 25. in a Treatise written on purpose on this Subject with great accuracy, as if he had been forming a Statue of Wax, bow a Symposiarch ought to behave himself, says, † That in his time the Practice Conviv.l.I.

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was grown into difule, (I suppose he means in Private Feafts; for in Solemn Festivals, I question not but it was preferv'd,) and that he and his Friends would endeavour to restore it; That the King (fo he calls the Sympofiarch) was crown'd, after he had been chosen by the common Confent of the Company; That his Province was, to make and impose the Laws of Drinking; That he ought to be a Man of Skill in that Exercise, and a Man of Prudence. to confider that he govern'd his Friends, (That a Tyrannical Administration would mif-become fuch a Prince,) and fo to order the distribution of the Wine according to every Man's capacity, that no one in the Company might prove troublesom in his Drink, and fo to mix Water with every Glass, that every Man might be able to bear it: By which Method they did wind up every Man's Humour to fuch a peg, that the dissonant Tempers, as Discords in Mufick make Harmony, might promote the Mirth and Good Humour of the Company. He blames some Men, who turn'd the Room into a Court of Justice, a School, or a Play-house, introducing

ducing Orators with their Declamations, Musick and Dancers, all which he diflikes. He distinguishes between Private and Publick Feasts; between what was Sacred, and what not; and cenfures Alcibiades and Theodorus, that they managed the Private Feast of Polytion, as if it had been an Entertainment at a Solemn Sacrifice; for they had their Torch-bearers, and Ecclefiastical Officers who explained the Mysteries (Hierophanta,) whereas nothing should be said or done in such a Meeting, but what is agreeable to the Design: That a strict decorum ought to be observ'd in such Meetings; That a Man with a hoarse Voice ought not to be commanded to fing, nor a lame Man to dance, nor an old Fellow to comb his Bald Head; That the Institution was ferious, tho' the Management pleasant and jocular ;and that aReward was given to him who should entertain the Company with any thing that was new and diverting, provided it were comely and honest. Thus Plutarch.

That all the Company obeyed the Master of the Feast, is plain from that passegesin Arrian, who says, That in

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the Saturnalia the King was chosen by Lot; That he commanded every one in Company, and order'd him his Businels, Προςάστει σύ πίε, σύ κέρασον, σύ ώσον (lege άσον) &c. Drink you, and do you fill, while the third Man fings; Go you home, you have your Dose, and come you in : - And every Man obeys, lest he should disturb the Mirth of the Com-The Rule of Drinking was stated and known, every Man according to his capacity, the Sympofiarch being Judge, and every wife Man as much as he pleased. So when the King of Perfia made his Feast to his Subjects (Emoinor morow, the LXX. render it) they all drank according to Law, fo fay our Translators; but the LXX. & nara reposeitheror refrest, not according to the Rules which were usually prescribed by the Master of the Feast, every Man drank what himself pleased. And when Agefilaus the Great, being chosen the Plut. A-Sympofiarch, was askt by the Servant pophth. who fill'd the Wine, what quantity of Laconic. Liquor he should give to every Man? If there be much Wine (lays he) give every Man as much as be defined , we but a little, divide it equal. And question

not but these Rules of Drinking were observed in Solemn, Publick and Religious Festivals, as well as in Private Entertainments, since much of the Pagan Religion consisted in good Eating and Drinking, and other Methods of Jollity.

Emperatis & Ingis.

Nor were the Senate of Palmyra only concern'd for the immediate Rites of their own City, but they chose out of their Men of Condition, one or more to inspect the Places in their Neighbourhood, dedicated to their Religious Worship. So Bolanus the Son of Zenobius, the Nephew of Airanes, who was the Son of Mocimus, the Grandson of Matthas, was the Curator of the Fountain dedicated to Venus, at Nacle (or Naclis) a City that was fituate between Heliopolis (the Syrian Heliopolis) and Biblus, under Jaribolus, who being one of their (Halpwoi Ocol) Countrey Gods, was the Prefident of the Place. Of Jaribolus I shall treat hereafter; at present, of the Overseer or Guardian of the Fountain. The Curators (that is the

Lib. 5.

the true Roman Name) were those who probably superintended the Repairs of the Fountain, collected and improved the Revenues, and made Provision for the great Crowds who came thither to consult the Oracle, or visited the Place, out of (mistaken) Devotion, at the solemn times appointed: They were the Aditui Fontium, or the Imponiopol.

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There were several forts of Emus-Anlai among the Antients, who had their Denomination from their Concerns: The Overseer of the Appian way (Επιμέλητής δδ β' Αππίας) occurs in Gruter, (and the People of Spain P. 495. 2. were for a while very eager Disputants for the Honour of a new Saint, whose Tomb they had found, call'd St. Viar, through their mistake of a broken Infcription, of which only these Fragments remained, S.VIAR, i.e. Curatores Viarum.) So the 'A para Stray were the Overfeers of their Games, says Julius Pollux. L.3. c.30. Αθλων Επιμεληλαί. And Princes are faid to be Empeanlai Ocor Sannow -Preservers of the Rights of Religion, and of their Subjects. The Curators of the Imperial Palaces and Revenues were 303

were Men of the Senatorian, and some-

Lib. 5.

times of the Consular Dignity, says Agathias: 'Aνατόλιον τω στη συσκλήτου Βελή ἀναγεγραμμένων — ἄνδρα τη τω υπάτων ἀξία τετιμημένον, η πρές γε το φερντόα τι Θεοδαί, η δπιμελείαν τω βασικών σε η κτηματών ἀξχω είληφότα. κεράτωρας δε τέτες καλέσι Ρωμαίοι. And the Wardens of the Port at Athens are styled 'Εμπορίε 'Επιμεληθα' in Harpocration, who inspected the Ships, that bought Corn into the Port, and took care that the City might not want Bread. They were, says 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Υπηρέτας 'Επιμελίνης 'Επιμελίνης 'Επιμελίνης 'Επιμελίνης του βαίος και το και το και βαίος και και το και βαίος και και βαίος και και βαίος και και και βαίος και βα

* Lib. 6.

Dionystus of Halicarnassus, Tamperay of Superas, is diversal, Assistants to the Demarchus at Athens, Copartners with him in his Government, and Judges of Causes: But now, says he, from one part of their Business, they are called Ispor to-more Emiliarial, the Guardians of Holy Places. The Trust was thought too great for any single Person. At Athens the number was Five, the President (or Bandeds,) with Four Assessment (or Bandeds,) with Four Assessment (or the Citizens in general, the third out of the Eumolpidae, the sourch out of the

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the Ceryces (the Descendants from Eumolpus and Ceryx.) In the Panathenaa
& Dionysia their number was encreased
to Ten, one out of every Tribe; but
their Business was only the oversight Pollux.
of the Games (the Wrestlings, Horsev. c. 8.
races, and Musick:) And when the
greater Mysteries were celebrated, Ten
inferior Priests (sepontos) were added to
the Banders and Empedants, as Assistants in Sacrificing.

But though the Number at Athens. of their Curators of their Mysteries and Sacred Places, were but Four; at Nacle, its plain, they were more, from the Inscription, Eight at the least, and how many more we know not. At Ancyra in Galatia, the Επιμελητής ίερων τοπών was a Person of great Honour, from whose Office they commonly dated their Inscriptions, the Senate and People erecting a Monument to the Honour of V. Marm.s. Fulvius Rusticus Æmilianus their Bene- in Memor. Cosson. p. factor, Επιμελεμένε Μενοτισβίε 'Αλεξ- 140. avops, when Menotesbius Alexander was their Empeanths, (so I am enclined to render it, not that he only took care of the Inscription.) Another Inscription Marm. 3. Was fet up to the Honour of T.Fl. Tæanus, P. 141. ΦυλαρΦυλαρχενίω 'Aynona's (when Agefilaus Secundus was Phylarchus, so they call'd the Commander of the Horse of every Tribe, who was a Lieutenant-General to the General of the Horse, says Harpocration,) Flavius Asclepius and Au-relius Asclepius (Επιμελεμένων) being Curaturs, for there were more than One at Ancyra; and fometimes the Tame Person was both the Phylarchus and Emple Anths. Another Inscription to the Honour of the same Teanus being erected (Φυλαεχενίος η Έπιμελεμένε Πετεμίε, Φυλαγχενί . κ, Έπιμελεμένε 'Arrovis' Arravelus) when Posthumius and Antonius Antoninus were both Φύλαρχοι and Επιμεληπαί. But this I propole only as a Conjecture, and shall be glad to be corrected, if mistaken.

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tender it, in a that he only took care of the Inferior). Another Inferior man, 3was in up to the Honour of T. FUT man, 2-144.

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Of their Idolatry and Superstition.

Shall not undertake to fix the I Epocha of the Original of Idolatry, nor determine what Creature on this fide the Highest Heaven, which is the Throne of the Great Creator of the World, was the first Object of Superstitious Worship; but I have great reason to believe, that when Religious Adoration was first transferr'd from the True God, it was given to the Heavenly Bodies, to the Sun and Moon, they being the most illustrious Visible part of the Creation, and for ought that any Man, the oldest in the World, could remember or know (further than Revelation gave him infallible Instruction) might be, as they have continued Unchangeable and Incorruptible in their Nature, so Eternal in their Diration, they having been made and fix'd in their glorious Spheres, before the first Man's Breath was breath'd into his Nostrils from Above: Whereas the older R

older Heathens knew the Pedigree, and the times of the several Births of their Saturns and Jupiters, and the whole Race of Gods derived from them; their first Books of Heathen Divinity being written upon the Subject of the Theogony, or the Generation of their Gods.

But besides the Antiquity of their Original, their Usefulness and Beneficence to the World was another Encouragement to the Worship of the Sun and Moon; (and if we examine the late Pretentions of Polytheism, we shall find, that in a great part it proceeded from this Belief, That such and such Persons having been Benefactors to the World in many useful Inventions, they were for those Reasons, after their deaths, Deify'd and ador'd.) For what greater Blessings were the Heathens sensible of, than what the Sun, and, in a less degree, the Moon bestowed, who not only distinguisht the Seasons of the Year (the variety of which are necessary to the Productions of the Earth, and the growth of Animals) and regulated the Computations of Time, but gave to all Creatures Health and Vigour, and the Preservatives of Life; Light, the first Bleffing

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Bleffing the World ever saw, and the truest Emblem of the Divinity; and Heat, and genial Warmth, to cherish and Promote the Ease of Mankind, which also produc'd all things necessary for Life, form'd Minerals in the Bowels of the Earth, and regulated the Motions of the Sea.

And when some of the most ancient of the Eastern Sages, finding some Difcords in Nature, which they could not reconcile, agreed to affert two First Principles of Good and Evil, yet they chose the San to represent Both (as a common Agent in both their Names;) because when the Sun was in their Horizon, they were Partakers of its Light, and its Heat; but when it retir'd, they were cover'd with Darkness (unless supplied by the Moon) because his Influences gave Life, and promoted the General tion of Animals, but his Absence introduced Corruption and Death. preserve the remembrance, fince the Sun was not always in view, the Orientals maintained an Unexstinguisht Fire to represent it (nothing here below comeing so near to the Image of that great Light, as Fire.) Nor did those Sages

Sages believe those glorious Planets to be meer Machines fix'd to their Orbs, but, as the Platonists talkt of Intelligences, who mov'd those great Bodies, so they thought them the Residences of the Divinity (the Senfible Sun to be the Seat of the Intellectual Sun.) And fo the Manichees, who had their two first Principles from the Persian Magi, aver'd, that our Bleffed Saviour dwelt in the Sun: And therefore they, contrary to the Christians of those early Ages, who constantly and at all times ador'd toward the East, directed their Worship toward the Sun, in what part foever of the Heavens he was, believing that to be the Tabernacle fix'd for our Bleffed Lord, in which he liv'd and And among the Egyptians (between whom and the Perhans, or Chaldeans, there was a Dispute for Seniority in the Schools of ancient Learning) they had a Tradition, That the first Books of Religious Worship were given to them by a Hawk, who brought them to the Priests of Egypt from the Sun, whose Bird the Hawk was, and by which they represented that noble Planet; as they did also Venus, says Horapollo. And

And its unquestionable to me, that Baal, V. Seld Moloch, Milchom, Rimmon, Chemosh, Chiun, Syris. Nifroch, Nergal, and several other Deities mention'd in the Sacred Writings; as also Saturn, Jupiter, Hercules, Ofiris, Belus, Apollo, Mithras, Marnas, &c. were no other than the Sun: as Aftarte, Vrania, Ifis, Milytta, Alilath, Cybele, Juno, Lucina, Diana, and Venus, were no other than the Moon. The Phænicians call'd the Sun, Mov & spavs Oeds (fays Philo Byblins) The only God of Heaven, who hears all Mens Prayers, and inspects all their Wants, says Orpheus, (and from Orpheus the Pythagoreans, as from Pythagoras the Platonists, and other Greeks, receiv'd their Knowledge of the Gods, fays * Proclus, out * In Plat. of Pythagoras himself; "Avw Dev 38 200 Timeum, ο 'Ορφικής παραδόσεως διά Πυθαγόρε κ eis Exampas in meet of Dear Grishun re ond Sev.) . The King, favs Julian (i.e. Moloch) the Governor of all And the Moon is call'd the Things. Queen of Heaven, in Holy Writ; and the Mother of the World, in Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Plutarch. though the Heathen Deities were worshipt differently in different Countreys, and

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and under different Names, they had all relation to the same thing, says Artemidorus, (*Αλλοι ή άλλως τιμώσι Θεές· mars;) And this I shall briefly p. 14. prove.

> That the Sun is described under that variety of Names, is plain from the ancient Writers and Inscriptions: Sa-

* Ad Auto-turn was the Sun, Tays * Theophilus; lic. 1.3. (the Orientals worshipt Saturn, whom p. 282. they call'd Bel, or Baal; and these

Orientals were the Phanicians and Syrians, says Damascius, in the Life of

Indorus, † who call'd Saturn, El, Bel, and Bolathus; and no Man doubts but

Bel was the Sun:) And so was Jupiter in the Esteem of the same Syrians, says

|| Macrobius; Asyrii queque Solem sub

nomine Jovis, quem Día HAIOTONITEN nominant, maximis ceremoniis celebrant

in civitate, que Heliopolis nuncupatur (who, in the Palmyrene Inscriptions, is

called Zeis Bna , in others, Zeis

HAIG.) And Herodotus fays, the Persians called the whole Circle of the

Heavens, i.e. the Course of the Sun, Jupiter. And from the Coins we learn,

that the Antients had their Hardhug

Overegn. 1. I. c. 9.

+ Apud Phot. Cod. 242.

Saturn. 1.1,0.23. ad all Arte. @ E & C . इ ४४० riefly that n the Sailus; hom hefe and e of Bel, but iter ays Sub The ant ur ; 1: 203 he he in, n,

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Zeos, i. e. the Sun; as well as their Πανδημω 'Apegolitu, the Moon. * Ma. * Par. 1. lela informs us, " That Mars was 1. 20. " Baal; That the Assyrians erected a " Pillar at first to Mars, whom in the " days of Justinian they continued to " worship, calling him, in the Persian " Tongue, the God Baal, i. e. Mars " the Warlike. (Though Jamblichus avers, that Azizus, i. e. Mars, among the Syrians, was but one of the Assessors, or Attendants of the Sun.) No Man doubts but that Apollo was the Sun; (and as it was customary to hang up Tables of extraordinary Cures, with the Method of Cure, in the Temple of Æsculapius at Coos; so was it usual, at Heliopolis, to do so in the Temple of the Sun: For + Nicolaus Myrepsus says, + C. 121, that the Medicine called Climax Hermaicus was transcribed from the Original preserv'd in the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, written in the Cilician Characters.) And so was Adonis, Says | Macrobius, (Adonim Solem effe | Satur. non dubitabitur, inspectà religione As. 1. 1. c. 21, Syriorum, apud quos Veneris Architidis, 6 Adonis maxima olim veneratio viguit, quam nunc Phænices tenent) worshipt R 4

both by the Syrians and Phanicians.

Now Adonis, among the Phanicians, fignifies a Lord, "Adwis dearoris, lays Helychius; i. e. Adonai, among the Jews; among the Syrians, Moloch; but by the Egyptians, Tammuz. Mercury (the Syrian Mocimus, in Jamblichus) was one of the Attendants of the Sun: and so was Hercules: as Mnevis and Apis were facred to the Sun and Moon in Egypt, and Anubis was reckon'd of his Guard, (Tov" Aus Bu Alzo alion 7 78 One of opero moison, says Proclus;) as the Bætuli in Syria were reckoned his Affistants, says Damascius: And fuch, I suppose, were Faribolus, and Malachbelus, and Alagbelus (or Elabelus, as it is written in the Inscriptions) at Palmyra: not the Summer and Winter Sun, as Mr. Selden; nor the Sun and Moon, as Mr. Halley; but Die Patric, or Penates, Affistants to the Sun. For the Sun was reputed the King of Heaven. furrounded with numerous Guards, and a Crowd of Attendants, (called, in Holy Writ, the Hoft of Heven,) the Signs of the Zodiack were reckon'd his Affeffors; and the Planets, his Lictors, his

Passopópoi, or Mace-bearers, fays our

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In Plat. Polit. p. 417.

very learned Selden, out of the Antients; and 'tis considerable, that most of his Names among the Orientals, were rather expressive of his Dignity, than his Nature, as Baal, Moloch, Mithras, Marnas, Adonis, and the like, which are all Titles of Honour and Autho-

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And if Jupiter Thalassius were the Heathen Neptune, then Neptune was the Sun; Oadam Q. Zeus en Eldun 71мата, says Hesychius; He was worshipt at Sidon: And 'tis well known, that the Sun was the God of the Sidonians. And Nonnus, in his Dionystaca, Lib. 11. fays Bind & in' Eugentao, &c. That he was calfed Belus by the Syrians (the Inhabitants of Euphrates, at Palmyra, and thereabout,) Ammon in Lybia, Apis in Egypt, Saturn among the Arabs; but among the Affyrians, Jupiter, Nor was Pluto a different Deity, fays the Emperor Julian, whose excellent Oration in Praile of the Sun is well worth reading,

Els Zeus, es Atons naiss on Zapams.

That Sarapis also was the Sun, is plain from what is already faid, and from

from the old Inscription in * Gruter, * XXII. 10, 11. Zεύς κλι μέρας Σάραπης. And † Malela says, that Theodofius caused † Par. 2. P. 46. to be thut up at Alexandria (70 160 g) The Σεράπο G. Aλis) the Temple of Serapis the Sun. That the Persian Mithras was the same Deity, no Man doubts. Xenophon, who had been in Oeconom. that Countrey, faysthat they swore by c. 8. Mithras the Sun. And the ancient In-| XXXIII. scription in || Gruter is dedicated Hale Migra avinita. And whereas Da-9. mascius says, that at Heliopolis, the Image of Gennæus, in the Temple of Jupiter, was worshipt in the Figure of a Lion erect; what does it represent, but the Mithræ Leones. of which Tertullian treats? so was Bel. Serv. in An. 1. Lingua Punica Bal dicitur apud Assyrios autem Bel - & Saturnus, & Sol. And 1. 1. p. 56. Zofimus fays, that when Aurelian had built a noble Temple at Rome to the Honour of the Sun, he placed in it Ήλίε τε κ Βήλε αράλματα, read it Hals To is Bhas and warm) the Images of the Sun, who was Belus, which he had brought with him from Palmyra: This Bel was the same with the Deus

Belenus of the Germans, and the Abellia

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of the ancient Gauls, and accordingly they offer'd Humane Sacrifices to him:

Hominem optimam, & gratissimam Diis victimam, says * Mela of the old * L.3.c.2.

Gauls. Thus was Moloch worshipt among the Jews, Edomites, and others, who sacrificed their Children to the Idol. The same Oblation did the Africans make to Saturn; and Elagabalus the Emperor, to his Country God Alagbaal his Namesake, says † In Pseud. Anton. 1.5.

That Ofiris, Omphis, and Nilus, were different Names of the same glorious Luminary, our learned Mr. Selden hath undeniably proved. And so was Orus, says Horapollo, ("Ηλιβ. ή δ L. 1. Hieall the feveral Names of the Heathen Gods were expressive in a different manner of the Glory of the Sun; Ti &v έπ σοι 'Ωρον λέχω, κ πα άλλα Θεών ονόματα τὰ πάντα κλίω στροσκαρντα. Nor did the Arabs, in the time of Alexander the Great, worship any other Gods but the Heaven, i. e. the Sun and Bacchus, says | Arrian, [or rather Bacchus * L.7. de and Vrania, as Herodotus, and Celsus Expedit. in Origen, affirm, i. e. the Sun, and the Moon :

* Auson. Epigr. 29.

Moon; for Bacchus, was no other than * Ofiris, and Adonis,] the Island of Nosala, and some other whole Countries, being dedicated to his Service. In Palestine they devoted Horses and Chariots to his Honour, to denote the Swiftness of his Motion, 1 King. 23. and they worshipt him toward the East, the Rising-Sun, Ezek. 8. turning their Backs upon the Sanctum Sanctorum, which was toward the West. His Festival was celebrated with great Pomp, says Julian; his Birth-Day was celerated on the 25th. of December, lays the old Calendar, and his Day of the Week, at Antioch, was dedicated, in their highest Solemnities, to the noblest Exercises, the Horse-races, says Malela. And when the Heathens swore with the greatest gravity, they call'd him to witness the Truth of what they said; Operio Δία, Γην, "Ηλιον (not δια χών, as it is publish'd,) I fwear by Jupiter, the Earth, the Sun, and the other Gods. And this I mention, that I may take leave to mention + Edit. Ox. another such Correction in + Aristeas; Tou of mouran emontine is uneful Dedu Error சுடும்றி, விழ் சுவ்சாத, நியவித் இயவ்விடிக், கூறுσονομαίζοντες έτερως Ζήνα νη Δία, έτως, & ε. (not sa 870:) for if so, it should be sa

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7870, &c.

The Moon was reputed the Sifter and Wife of the Sun, as Juno was of Jupiter; and the fame with Venus, fays Philochorus, in Macrobius. Now, Venus was a very comprehensive Name among the Antients, fays * Ptolemy, The Syrians * Tetrabib. worship Venus, as the Mother of the !. 1. Gods, (ποικίλοις, η εξχωρίοις ονόμασι σροσαγορδύοντες,) calling her by several Names in several Countries. And Plutarch affirms, that the Goddess of Hie- In Crass. rapolis was by some called Venus; by others, Juno; by a third fort, Nature, that gave Beginning and Seeds to all Things: By the Assyrians, Arabs, and Perhans, the was ador'd under the Name of Vrania, says + Herodotus : And in + Lib. 3. Africa, Says | Tertullian. And .: Apu- | Apologet. leius calls her Dea Cælestis magna Jovis Met. germana, & conjux. And so says Plotinus, (Vrania was Venus and Juno, the Wife and Sister of Jupiter.) fhe is called by . Herodotus, 'Aspoaean, . Lib. s. the Governess of the Stars, i. e. the (And for this rea-Queen of Heaven. son the Egyptians accounted it absurd to call Heaven, Ovegros, by a word of the Masculine Gender; they styling it Urania, because the Moon governs all Things.)

F.

* de Deâ Syr.

† Overp.

l. 1. c. 9. p. 14.

Things.) And therefore Elagabalus the Emperor being himself called by the Name of the Sun, called his Wife Urania, as if they had been the Sun * Lucian says, that the Syand Moon. rians at Byblos (the next Town to Hierapolis, for this reason, in the Coins, called 'Isea', the Sacred Byblus) worshipt Venus and Adonis with great Solemnity, and that the Phanician Astarte was the Moon, (The Asaerlu, hyer Apposition, says Procopius, in 2 King. 17.) the being ador'd in Syria under that Name, in the days of † Artemidorus, i.e. under the Antonines, (12 Dias mayτες έδίκοι πλίω Συρών πιών περί τίω 'Aságriw σεβομένων.) And the abovemention'd Lucian says, that the Juno at Hierapolis (the Goddess of Syria) was of all Shapes, but still the same Goddess; she was in some Features like Minerva; in others, like Venus, the Moon, Rhea, Diana, Nemesis, and the Destinies. Macrobius fays, that the Syrians worshipt Adonis (i. e. the Sun,) and Venus Architis (i.e. the Moon.) Some Criticks read the word Adargidis; others, Dercitidis; but Mr. Selden, Aphaciditis. And it must be acknowledg'd,

Ubi sup.

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knowledg'd, that Venus was solemnly worshipt at Aphaca, a Place not far from Hierapolis; and so prohably was she at Arca, a City in Syria, not far from Aphaca, and near both Hierapolis and Byblus, the Place where Alexander Severus was born, fays * Lampridius * P. 114, (who in one place calls it Urbs Arcena; 118. in another, Arca Cæsarea) one of the In-land † Cities of Phanicia. So that † Ptol. 1.5. I think the words in Macrobius need not c. 15. correction: for as from Apbaca is derived Aphacitis: so from Arca, Arcitis. Venus being the known Deity of all that Country, | St. Austin wonders | De C. D. why the Heathens should account Vesta 1.4. c. 10. and Venus the same, while the one was the Goddess of Chastity, the other the Patroness of Lewdness: But his Admiration would have ceas'd, had he confider'd, that the same Mock-Divinity was represented under those different That Is, Lucina, Diana, Names. Hecate, &c. were the Moon, is prov'd by Mr. Selden: And though Athens were Minerva's own City (and she the Patronels of Modesty,) yet Theseus their Founder commanded the Citizens to Worship Tandy wow Age of riw, fays * Pau- * Attic. Sanias, P. 20.

* Vit. Pythag, l. I. c. 28.

Sanias, the same, I suppose, with Pallas The Pythagoreans facrificed to Venus (i.e. the Moon) on the Sixth Day of their Week, i. e. Friday, fays * Jam, blichus; a Day sacred also among the Arabs (being dedicated to their Vrania) long before Mahometanism prevail'd among them. And left the Moon should be treated with an inferior Worship, and appear without Attendants, the Antients offer'd Immortal Fire to Her. as well as to the Sun, says Julian, and gave her a Paredrus, or Companion : Τύγων δ περί τω 'Αφροδίτω Θεός, in Helychius; the Tuxn' Aya n Sors Luna,

Satur. l. 1. fays Mr. Selden; but Macrobius fays, c. 19.

that Toyn is the Moon herself.

And it is to be observ'd, that the Antients allow'd not of Sexes among their Gods; or rather, thought every God of both: Hence Orpheus calls the Moon, Appnyo And so is Bacchus flyled,

Appnea & Silaw Siguii Aversoy Laxxor.

And Calvus the old Poet, in Macrobius, Pollentemque Deum Venerem.

And the Deus Lanus was famous in the langas East. East, worshipt at Carræ in Mesopotamia (on whose Coins a cock is stampt, bebecause he was 'Interns is 'Ise os TE win Qu, fays * Jamblichus in the esteem of the * Vit. Pyth. Pythagoreans, Mhun is halo na Diepodeis, l. 1. c. 18. facred to the Sun and Moon,) at Ancyra in Galatia, at Antioch in Pifidia, at Nifa in Caria, at Gaba in Galilee, at Juliopolis in Bitbynia, at Magnesia in Afia, at Sættæ in Lydia, and at Sibiduda in Phrygia Salutaris, as the Coins

in F. Harduin expressy declare.

It is highly probable, that the Worship of the Sun was the Religion of the Chaldeans, in Abraham's time, when God rescued that learned and devout. Patriarch from the Prejudices of his Education, and the Persecutions of his Adversaries: (and if the Sacred Rites of the Chaldeans had their Original in Egypt, and were thence transplanted into the East, the Idolatry begun much earlier:) But this we are fure of, that the first Account that is given us of Idolatry, in the oldest Book in the World, the oldest, at least, that is come to the hands of the Men of the later Ages (the Book of Job, which, I may prefume, was penn'd before the History of

* Job 31.

History of the Creation it felf) is that of the Worship of the Sun and Moon, of * worshipping the Sun in his Splendour, and the Moon walking in her brightness, long before any of the Heathen Saturns or Jupiters could enter their claim, they all having been born long after 70b's time. And the Form of Adoration there mention'd is very ancient (Kissing the Hand, and paying Obeysance,) which is naturally render'd by Heoonicionas and Adoratio, among the Greeks and Latins. And when the Jews turn'd Idolaters, they are said, Judg. 10. to worship Baalim and Ashteroth, that is, in the Punick Language, says St. Augustine, the Jupiters and Juno's of the Heathen World; by which he cannot mean other than the Sun and Moon: For Jupiter and Juno, in the Age just after Joshua, were not then in Embryo; and when the Gentiles of fucceeding Ages, the latter School of the Platonists (who were great Admirers of the Orphick and Pythagorean Rites) asham'd of the Accounts which the old Poets gave of their Gods, turn'd all the Story of Homer and Hefiod into Mythology; they still continued the Worship of those glorious

glorious Planets. With what Pomp and Ceremony of Eloquence doth Julian the Apollate Emperor creat of this Subjech in his Hymn written in Praise of the Sun, Ayling him, the King of all the World, the Most Droine Prince, and the Common Pather of Mankind, Anrelian calls him a Deity that he was fure of Deus certus Ser, Dane, that all things, from one end of the World to the other, were govern'd by his Providence affirming, withat for the own part; He had from y youth a great regard for him and that at Confrantinople they kept and Annual Feaft; and offer d'Sa crifices adwhie Honouper Hon does He forger the Moon, who was foleniary worthips at Athens after life time! For * Marinus, in the Effe of Proctus, Yhu N. 11, forms us, What When Luchares and Sy rianas, apon the first appearance of rife Mound did ridore the Goddes (100) onweiv 4 Oed,) that Proclus retiting a little ways from them, but off the Shoes (another Cucom and Rite of Religious Worling, as old at least as Moles, when he conversd with God in the Bull, continued by the Platonifts, in compliance with the Rule of Py-2009 S 2 thagoras,

thagoras, Quest you avored now that he who would sarrifice, ought to discalceate, and then faluted, i. e. ador'd the Deity, L.4. p. 245 (name (ero 7 Dear.) And when Zofimus the Pagan Historian Audiquity aggrayates the Severity of the Edict of Theo. defius, who destroy'd all the Heathen Temples and Images, he subjoins, that t was very dangerous for any Man, at that time, to affect the Rights of Paganism to affirm that the Heathen Deities were Gods, or fo much as to look up to Heaven, and to worthip the Sur and the Maon (i) The en auto party party appropries.) And at this day, among those poor Savages who inhabit the remotest part of Earth, in Greenland, and other Parts of the North, if they .tt M *have any Religious Ceremonies, any Object of Worship, they bow down to the Rifing Sun, and acknowledge its Di-violty: As in like manner the old Scathians, with whom one continued Right, as in Greenland, lasted half the Year, worthipt Apple, fays Mela. Nor could the Christians easily be wear'd from this Custom at Rome, a long time after Christianity had prevailed there: for many of them, in the days of thagoras, Pope

Pope Les the Great, when they came Ser. 7. de into the Church of St. Peter, as they Nativitat. went up the Steps that led to the Altar, turning themselves about, bow'd their Heads, and worshipt the Rifing-Sun!

This Worling was objected to the Jews, in the days of the fiff Roman Emperors, by Petronius and Judenal, that they worlhipt nothing but the Clouds, and the Swan (for fo I render Cali Numer,) i. e. in the Sacred Style, the Hoft of Heaven. And in the Reign of Honorius and Theodoffus; the Calicola were a new upftart Sect of Superstitious Votaries (Nomen inauditum quodammodo novum crimen superstitionis vindi- Cod. l. 1. cantes, in the words of the Law) called Culicohe, fays the Collector of the Synophs Bentikov, because they worthipt the Heavens (Selopeves & Ovegron) who had their separate Places of Meeting, their different Rites, and distinct Ministers of their Religious Ceremo. nies: But whether they were Jews, the remains of the old Effens, as some affirm, (though the Law feetis to me plainly to diftinguish the Calicola from the Jews,) or forme Christian Hereticks, the Progenitors of the Euchitte (as others affirm.

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diffinguish them, when it makes them liable to the same Penalties with Hereticks,) or rather some of the Remains of the old Heathens, who renounc'd their Saturns; and Jupiters. (whose Divinities they could not vindicate; because whatever is God, must be Eternal) but stuck to the Worship of the Sun and Moon, as the later Platonists did, because they believed them Eternal, and of the same Duration with the Supreme Being. I will not undertake to determine.

Considering what hath been already 1.500 afferted, I think it needs not much more Proof, that Syria was eminently farbous for the Worship of the Sun and Moon In Syria, 'tis most probable, that this Idolatry either had its first Original, or its most immediate Propagation; and there it continued till Paganism breath'd its last in that part of the East a till the Followers of Mahomer, profest Ene mies of Palytheism, made use of the Sword to extirpate it. The whole Country feem'd to be devoted to this Service; Edella is called the Region dedicated to the Sun, from the Beginsimilie.

Beginnings of Time (Teegr Is always hais xwelov.) and so was Hierapolis-Byblis said to be consecrated to Venus and Adonis, and so was all Phanicia. Æschylus, in his Supplices, styles Phenicia, τῶς ᾿Αφε οδίτας πολύπυρον αΐαν. i. e. faith the Scholiast, because all the Coast about Mount Libanus was particularly addicted to the Worship of that Deity: The Worship begun in Asyria (or Syria:) from them the Men of Ascalon brought it into Phanicia, and from them the Cypriotes deriv'd their Superstition.) And in the Emperor Ammian, Julian's time, the Moon (the same with Marcel. Venus, as I have already prov'd) was most solemnly worshipt at Carra, and in all the adjacent Country; and their most illustrious Princes thought it not a diminution of their Honour to be to their Gods; Bassianus Herodian. Priests and Alexianus (i. e. Elagabalus, and Alexander Severus his Brother) were both confecrated Priests of the Sun, tho' both reputed the Sons of Caracalla the Emperor, and their Mother was undoubtedly the Empress Julia's Sister, and themselves Candidates of the Empire, (and, as of old, the Eldest of the Family Was

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was both Prince and Priest; so Herodian affirms that Baffianus was confecrated to that Service, because the Office peculiarly belong'd to the Eldest Brother:) Ithobalus, or Ethbaal the King of Tyre, Ad Autolic. was the Priest of Aftarte, says Theo. philus: And when Pompey, having fubdued Mithradates, distributed Kingdoms among the great Men of Afra, who had given him Affistance, he made Archelaus the Priest of Venus, in Commagene; which entitled him to a Principality and Authority not inferior to * Bell. Mi- the Royal Dignity, fays * Appian. And what extraordinary Influence Sampfaigeramus the Priest of the same Idol at

Emesa had upon that Country, hath been already demonstrated.

How much addicted Palmyra was to Venus, who appointed Curators of her Fountain at Nacle, out of her most eminent Inhabitants, and what a glorious Temple was erected in that City to the Sun, so adorn'd and beautify'd, that Aurelian thought the Spoiles worthy his carrying to Rome, has been formerly mention'd; and though that victorious Prince, in the hear of Action, could not prohibit his Soldiers the plundering and defacing

defacing that noble Structure, he foon after took care, though the rest of the City was left buried in its own Ruines. that the Temple should be re-edified; Vopisc. p. for Aurelian had a particular Veneration for the Sun (whole Figure appears often on his Coins,) his Mother had been the Id. p. 213, Priestess of Apollo, in the place where 217. he was born; and when his Affairs at Emesa (in his Engagement with Zenobia) were desperate, 'tis pretended that his Foot were encouraged to support his routed Horse, by an extraordinary Person whom he knew not at that time; but when he return'd to Emesa, and went into the Temple of Elagabalus to give Thanks for his Victory, he there met the same Figure which had appear'd to him; whereupon he founded a Temple in that City to the Sun, (a new Temple, without doubt; for the Temple of the Sun was Herod. ubi famous at Emesa before Aurelian's time, Sup. for its Beauty and Magnificence, its extraordinary Riches, and the Quality of the Votaries who fent their Offerings thither, the neighbouring Barbarous Princes every Year making their Prefents to Elagabalus,) and another at Rome,

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20sim. 1. 1. Rome, upon which he bestow'd a vast p. 56. Summ of Money, adorn'd it with the the Spoyles of the samous Temple at Palmyra, having at the same time offer'd his own unparallell'd Robe to the

Deity.

In Syria, and the neighbouring Provinces, lived the Philosophers who kept up the Reputation of Paganism, when it was expos'd to the severest Profecution of the Imperial Edicts: Porphyry was of Tyre; Sopater a Syrian; Jamblicus a Native of Chalcis; Vranius was of Apamia; Eustathius and Ædehus, Cappadocians; Proclus of Lycia; Marinus a Samaritan of the City of Sichem; Damascius of Damascus; Simplicius a Cilician; Hermias and Diogenes, Phænicians; Isidorus of Gaza, &c. And, whatever progress Christianity might have made in other Places, it is plain, from the Epistle of Julian to Libanius, that Heathenism defended its Possession in Syria; for when that unhappy Apostate Emperor made his Expedition into Persia, from Berrhea to Batnæ, all the Countrey was full of Sacrifices; the smell of Incense had perfum'd the Air; and at Hierapolis he met

met with more than a few who had been Confessors, in the former Reigns. for the Ancient Rites. In Malela's time. the Affyrians continued to worship Mars. or Baal; and whoever shall read Damascius's Life of Isidorus, may satisfie himself what Methods the Philosophers of those days used to support the Inteseft of Polytheifm, what Visions they pretended to, what Magical Rites they used, and what Miracles were wrought in Confirmation of their Opinions: Zofimus affirming, that in his time a Globe of Fire hover'd up and down in the Air, about the Temple of Venus, at Appaca, the Place whither the Men of Palmyra fent to learn their Fate, when Aurelian threaten'd them with Ruine, fays that bigotted Advocate of Idolatry. who thus relates the Story; That when they having confulted the Oracle at Seleucia, in Cilicia, had received from thence a melancholy Answer, they fent to Aphaca, a Place situate between Heliopolis and Byblus, where the Temple of Venus Aphacitis Stood: Near that Temple was a natural Fountain, that feem'd as if it had been made by Art; to this Fountain the People of that Countrey, -idmA

Country, at those Set-Times, when

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they met there, brought their Offerings, either of Gold or Silver, Silks, or Linnen Cloaths, or whatever else was of Value: If Venus was pleased with the Oblation, the Garments that were offer'd funk to the bottom, as well as the heavy Metals; but if the Deity was displeas'd, all swom on the top of the Fountain; and that this Omen befel the Men of Palmyra, the Year when their City was destroyed. But the Oracular Fountain, that foretold the Ruine of Palmyra, could not lecure it felf from a like fate in a few Years after, under Constantine the Grede, which Eufebius, the Church Historian Euseb. Vit. thus relates; That the pious Emperor having been inform'd, that the pretext do orat. de of Religion, was only a cover for note rious Debaucheries, refolved to destroy all those Places that were destin'd to the Gratifications of the Flesh, particularly the famous Temple of Fenus in Phase nicia: That on one part of the Mount Libanus, near the top of it, in Aphaca, a Grove and Temple had been confecrated to Venus, not in the middle of City, or in the High-way, where the Ambi-Countrey

Constant. 1. 3. 6. 55. land. Con-Stant.

Ambition of the Heathens prompted them, for the most part, to build their Temples, but in a retired Place, remote from all Towns, and publick Roads, where a School of Lewdness was erected, where effeminate Men prostituted themselves to unnatural Lufts, in honour of the Dæmon; and the Female Sex, laying afide all regard to Modesty and Religion, devoted themselves to gratifie the irregular Desires of all Pretenders, they living without Control or Observation; because no vertuous Person durst approach the Place; till that illustrious Prince commanded his Soldiers to demolish the Temple, and fo put a period to those abominable Practices, giving the Pagan Inhabitants truer Notions of Religion and Chastity: This, fays Eusebius, was the Fate of that infamous Temple. But see the Malice and Difingenuity of a zealous Heathen: Zofimus affirms, that a miraculous Fire hover'd over the Place in his time. And Damascius tells strange Stories of Vit. Isider. the fame nature, in his days, of the Globes of Flame (the Batuli) that frequently appear'd about Mount Libanns: That the Worship at Aphaca was which.

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in use before Marcus Antoninus's Reign, the Palmyrene Inscription demonstrates: The Solemn Meetings there were Annual, the Practices most execrable, Lust and Luxury making a great Figure in all their pretended Religious Ceremonies, especially in that Country, Lucian himself avering, that at Byblus, a very little way from Nacle, the Women who refused to cut their Hair in the time of their solemn Mourning for the Death of Adonis, were obliged for a whole Day to prostitute themselves to all Strangers, and whatever they got, was to be spent in a Sacrifice to Venus.

Aphaca was the Name of the Place, fays Zosimus ("Apage xwelow.) and Eusebius seems to be of the same Opinion (there being many Cities of that Denomination in Syria, one belonging to the Tribe of Juda, another to the Tribe of Asher, a third in the Coasts of the Amorites, a fourth a City of Syria;) but others, with greater probability, that the Name of the City was Nacle, (and of the Well Aphaca;) so

Euseb. de loc. Hebr.

V. Xeisi- says Suidas expressy, upon the Autho-Jup & rity of Christodorus, who wrote the V. Naxan. History of Nacle, or Naclis, (a Book which, if extant, would have much illustrated this part of our History) that it stood near Heliopolis, and that the Rites called Apara (not Apara, as it is in the printed Copy) were there performed. What is meant by Apara, the Lexicographer informs, that it is a Etymol. M. Syriack word, (in the Arabick it signi. V. Apara. sies Praputium, or Vinculum,) and that if it be sit to render such a word into Greek, it signifies (a) Embraces, Venus in that place embracing her Darling Adonis; and probably Nacle has a like signification.

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^{[(}a) Σύρων μέν όζιν ἡ λέξις. δωία αἰ δε καθ' Ελλάδα γλῶωταν, εἰ δεῖ τὸ δημῶδες εἰπεῖν ρῆμα, τοείλημμα, τοειλαβέσης τ΄ Αφεροθτης ἐκεῖ τ΄ Αδωνιν, ἡ τ΄ τορώτω, ἡ τ΄ εγάτω τοειβολω: Hence probably in Helychius, "Αφακες Εὐηθες, & Νάκολον Ακάθαςτον.]

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CHAP. V.

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An Account of Vaballathus.

Having, in the foregoing History, averr'd, that Vaballatbus was not the Son of Odenathus, as the generality of Writers have attested; but the Grandson of that heroick Prince, as Monsieur Tristan and F. Harduin have affirm'd; I think my self obliged to give my Reasons for my Opinion; the Roman and Greek Historians of those times being either wholly ignorant of him, as, I think, Trebellius Polito, Zosimus, and others were; or mistaken in his Pedigree, as Vopiscus, who is the only Author who mentions him, seems to be.

Transp.88. That Odenathus had Grandsons before he assum'd the Purple, appears to me very plain from the Palmyrene Inscription, where Septimius Odenathus (the same, I believe, with the Emperor of

that Name) at that time a Man of the illustrious Senatorian Order and Dignity,

nity, built a Monument for himself, his Sons, and Nephews, or Grandsons, (dural re, it yours ours, it yourois.) That thole Nephews could not be the Offspring of Herennianus and Timolaus, the Sons of Zenobia, is to me undoubted ! because at their Father's Death they were very young, fays the Roman (Zenobia, quod parvuli Trebel. Pol. Historian, essent filii ejus, qui supererant, Heren. p. 180. nianus & Timolaus, ipfa suscepit imperium,) and therefore may be supposed the Sons of Herodes, or Herodianus, whom Odenathus begat on a former Wife; and for these Reasons, and by the help of the Inscriptions, I am enclined to deduce the Line of that Family after the following manner:

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VABALLATHUS.

AIR ANES.

SEPTIMIUS OD ENATHUS. SEPTIMIA ZENOBIA his fecond Wife

ATHENÆUS HERODES. SEPTIMIUS AIRANES. HERENNIANUS. TIMOLAUS. Daughters mar-

Dignity. Benatorian

Their Children at Rome, A. C.

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I have been encouraged to believe that Odenathus in the Inscriptions was the fame Person with the Emperor of that Name, from his præ-Nomen Septimins, which cannot justly be prefumed to have been used in the East. before the First Emperor of that Name made his Inroads into Persia. Septimius Severus died, Anno Christi 211. before which time Odenathus may well prefumed to have been born, being murthered Ann. Chr. 267, and I have given him a fecond Son, from the Authority of the Inscriptions, where Septimius Airanes, a Man of the Con- Pag. 99. fular Dignity, is faid to have been the Son of Odenathus, the Date of the In-Inscription confirming it, viz. A.C. 253. have also adventured upon adjusting the Pedigree of his Ancestors, from the ame Inscription, where Septimius is Pvg. 88. aid to be the Son of Airanes, the Grandson of Vaballathus, the Great-Grandson of Nasorus (according to the Method of the Arabs, who usually reckon'd their Descent after that manner;) for I cannot think Airanes to be the præ-Nomen of Vaballathus, fince all their fore-Names were either Roman

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or Greek, to neither of which Lan-

guages Airanes belongs. I have also

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Harduin, that Vaballathus was the Son of Herodes; not only because Herodes is in the Coins represented with a Beard, which implies some Years beyond Youth, while Vaballathus has a very young Face, but because the Coins de clare him to have continued Emperor, after Zenobia was conquer'd; and I am so far from thinking that his Motherin-Law held the Empire in his Name, that I believe the profecuted him, as she did his Father, that she might enthrone her own Children; the Subject. it must be confest, is much in the dark and for want of Directions from the Antients, it is easie to be mistaken, but the luckiest Conjecturer in such Cases is the best Critick. It is plain from V. Tristan. the Historians, that there were violent Contests between Herod and Zenobia, while Odenathus was alive (as it seldom happens that Mothers-in-Law look over-favourably on their Predecessor's Children) but that those Disputes serv'd only to advance the Son in his Father's Favour, who had declar'd him his Copartner

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partner (a little while after himself had been made Emperor) and consequently his Successor; and accordingly the Coins mention the third Year of his Reign, whereas Odenathus wore the Purple but four Years, being then murthered, and with him his Son Herod. Upon whose Death, I doubt not, but Vaballathus immediately assum'd the Imperial Title and Dignity, as in right he ought, and probably was confirm'd in his Pretentions by Claudius and Aurelian, (otherwise his Name and Titles could never have appear'd on the reverse of the Coins of Aurelian; for neither Zenobia's nor either of her Son's Name is found on any of the Imperial Coins of the Romans, because in open Hostility with them; which confirms me, that Vaballathus was not the Son of that great Queen,) his Fourth Year being coincident with the First, his Fifth with the Second of Aurelian, (which unquestionably proves him to have been Declared Augustus, as soon as his Father was dead;) but being convinced that Zenobia had made the Army firm to her Interests, and declar'd her own Sons Emperors, he fled to the Romans for T 3

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the Justice of his Title (his Grandfather Odenathus having been declar'd Emperor at Rome, whose right Heir Vaballathus was, whereas Zenobia had no fuch Pretentions) treated him with that Respect which those great Princes used to pay to distressed Monarchs; and I doubt not, but in Gratitude to his Patrons, he affilted Aurelian, not only with the Equity of his Caule, but with what Forces he could bring into the Field. In the Sixth Year of his Reign, he had the Satisfaction to fee his Competitors conquer'd, and led Goltz. The- Captive to Rome; and the Coins tell us, that he bore the Title of Emperon in the Fourth Year of Aurelian, which was the Seventh of Vaballarbus, (ATT. K. OYABAAAAOOC CEB. L.Z.) which was the Year after Palmyra was ruin'd. From whence it plainly appears to me, that he was a Confederate of the Romans in that War, his Effigies and Titles being stamps on the reverte of Aurelian's Coins, that very Year that he undertook his Expedition into the East, as well as the Year after Zemobia was subdued; for that was a Privilege

Jaur. p.73.

vilege never granted but to those Princes who were in League with, and had done good Service to the Roman Commonwealth. So Rhemetalces King of Thrace is joyn'd with Augustus, and Abgarus the Toparch of Edessa with Marcus Aurelius, to demonstrate their being in the Interests of those Princes, but with some distinction in the Habit of the Head, or Crown, to denote their Subjection: for when Vaballathus wears a Wreath or Diadem, then Aurelian wears a Crown of Lawrel; but when Vaballathus wears a Crown of Lawrel, Aurelian wears a Crown radiated, or, as the Heralds call it, rayoneé.

How long Vaballathus lived after the Eighth Year of his Reign, or what his Fate was, I know not; but I am enclined to believe that he sunk by degrees in the Favour of Aurelian, and being deprived of the Imperial Dignity, was forced to content himself with the meaner Title of King, or Viceroy, and that this happen'd in the two last Years of that Emperor; for to that Year I refer those Coins, wherein he is styled

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VABALATHUS REX. - VABAL. V. Fulv. Ursin. Not. LATHUS REX UCRIM. P. P. ad Vopisc. Aurel. Mezzob. p. 407. f. 29.

VCRIMOR _VCRIMP._VCRIMDR -VERIMP. - VABALATUS ITER. Patin. Jud. IMP. R. ____ all which are Latin. and consequently seem to be coin'd. not in the East, but somewhere nearer Rome, but all in the Reign of Aurelian; and from them I conjecture that Aurelian, after he had fetled his Authority in Syria, destroy'd Palmyra, and put an end to the Pretentions of the Family of Odenathus, oblig'd Vaballathus to decline the Title of Emperor. and to use that of the Imperial Vicegerent in the East; and that this is implyed in the Coins, where he is faid to be *UCRIMOR* (wrongly in others WCRIMDR, or WCRIMP) not Vice Cefaris Rector Imperii Orientalis, as F. Harduin very ingeniously (because in Aurelian's Age, and long before, Cafar was a Title of Honour inferior to that Spart.p.35. Of Imperator, Ælius Verus being the first who was declar'd Casar, but never was Emperor, the Title at that time, and in future Ages, being appropriated to the Heir Apparent of the Empire; 10

Capitolin. 1. 24.

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fo that it should have been Vice Imperatoris, as Nemefius is styled in * Gruter,) * Claviii. but Vir Clarissimus Rector Imperii Orientalis: for to the Governors of Provinces were styled, in the Language of Grut.CL.9. the Law, and in the old Inscriptions. Fabius Maximus V. C. Rect. Prov. &c. This Province Vaballathus managed more than once, being faid to be ITER. IMP. R. i. e. iterum Imperii Rector, a second time the Emperor's Vicegerent in the East; for such were the Toparchs of that Country (the Name demonstratesit, Toparcha is Vicemgerens,) which was in some Ages fill'd with those Roytelets: Such also were Phylarchs of the Arabians, who held their Dignity at the pleasure of either the Romans or Persians, to whom they were subject. (Thus Agrippa, upon his Father's Death, was made Prince of Chalcis: but when he had continued in that Government four Years, was 70feph. Andisplaced by Claudius, but made Te-tiq. 1. 20. trarch of Iturea, Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Abilene, to which the same Emperor afterwards added a part of Galilee.) But though their Territory was small, their Ambition commonly was very great,

V. Harduin. Num. p. 587.

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great, and the Titles which they affected very pompous, witness a Coin of Antiochus the Fourth. one of the little Princes of Sebaste, a corner of Cilicia erected into a Kingdom by Vespasian, * Ant.1.18. fays * Josephus, who styles himself Band. Mey. Bandeus meyes, the great King; and another of Abgarus on the reverse of Severus, with the same Title: it being very likely that Vaballathus, prompted by the like Vanity, styled himfelf Vaballathus Rex Verim. P. P. Vaballathus the King, and the Father of his Country, (as in a Latin Coin of Zenobia, whom Theodorit, who was of Cyrrhestica, a Province not far from Palmyrene, calls the Toparch of Palmyra; she is said to be Queen or Governess of all the East; Zenobia Aug. totius Orientis R. i.e. Redrix, or Regina, as the styles her felf in her Letter to Aurelian;) unless this Inscription intimates to us another change in his Fortune and Tenure, that he was constituted the Prince of that part of Cyrrhestica, whose chief City was Urima (in the Coins, by mistake, Verima, and Verima) fituate on the Euphrates, between Samofata and Edeffa, near the the Mid-way, and an Episcopal See. Against this Opinion, that Waballathus was the Grandson of Odenat bus, the learned Spanbeim musters all his Forces, and Differt. 7. blames Monsieur Tristan for indulging de Usu de too much to his own Wit and Con- Numism. jectures, while Wopifeus fays expresty P.597,600. that Vaballathus was Zenobia's Son. (If. Cafaubon's Notion, that it was only a fictirious Name, through mistake of the Greeks, who understood not the Syrian Language, needs no further Confutation;) for which Opinion also Salmaffus contends earnestly, the Credit of Vapifcus supporting it. But it is plain, Not. in Vothat Wopiscus was deceived in that Pa. pisc. p.380. ragraph, when he fays, " That Zenobia did not hold the Empire in the Name of Herennianus and Timolaus, but of her Son Vaballathus. - expresty against the Affertion of Trebellius Pollio, 30 Tyr. who affirms the contrary; and of * Vo. P. 198. pileus himself, in another place, " That * P. 216. Zenobia held the Empire of the Eaft (Nomine Filiorum) in the Name of her Sons. - And that the Coins are an unquestionable Confirmation of this Truth, Spanheim himself confesses, in which the tecond and third Years of

their Empire is recorded; and therefore (if any Manuscript would give countenance to the addition) I should think, with Triftan, that the word (Herodis) is left out, and that it should be read Vaballathi Herodis Filii; or probably Vopiscus might mistake his * P. 209. Author, (for * he confesses, that he took all his Notices out of the Greek Writers,) and through haste, read is for yove, and so translate Filii for Nepotis. But the placing the Head of Vaballathus on the reverse of Aurelian's Coins, is to me an unquestionable Evidence that he was not Zenobia's Son; for I believe there cannot be one Instance produced of any Emperor who gave such an Allowance, but to a Friend and Confederate; whereas Zenobia and her Sons were always in profest Enmity, and open War with the Romans, and the Romans with them, who were very eager, all through the Reign of Claudius, to have that haughty Queen subdued, and the Empire wrested out of her Hands. Nor will the Years of his Reign agree with this Opinion (if Vaballathus were carry'd a Prisoner to Rome with Zenobia, and Zenobia did not

not reign above five or fix Years;) for those in Goltzius mention the Seventh Year of his Reign; one of which was stampt at Troas, implying, that that City declar'd for his Interests, in the fifth Year of his Empire, the Year in which Aurelian went to the East; and the Figure of Hope on the reverse of Mauroceni one of his Latin Coins, implies his Exthest c.13. pectation to be restored by that puis p. 143. sant Prince, who had been so long kept out of his Right by his Mother in-Law.

But Spanheim enforces his Opinion with a second Argument, That Herod's Name doth not appear in any of the Coins of Vaballathus, nor is there any Proof that Herod was ever call'd Athenas, or Athenaus. To which I anfwer in general, That it was the Custom of that Age and Country to have Two Names, the one Latin or Greek, the other Syriack, as Septimius Odenathus, Hermias Vaballathus; so that it is not improbable, that Herod was call'd Athenæus, (Athenas, Athenæus, Athenodorus, from Athene, i. e. Minerva, as Hermias from Hermes, or Mercury.) I once thought, that 'A. Jins, by the transposing Thefaur.

transposing the betters (done by the Greek Monetarii, ignorant of Syriach) was put for Hodds, (by which Name Malela, the Syrian Writer, always calls Odenathus;) but from one of the Coins in Goltzius, Oud Balkado Adw.

Ou - I am enclinable to read it, Ouabalkado Admis Ouopados, Herodes and Orodes being the same Name, and always so written in the Inscriptions. But of this Conjecture I must leave those Persons to be Judges, who have seen those rare Coins, while I profess I was never so happy.

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CHAP. VI.

An Account of Longinus.

Having accounted, as well as I could, for Vaballathus, I shall easily be pardoned by all the Lovers of Learning, if out of a due Reverence to the Memory of Longinus, I endeavour to adjust the Particulars of the Life of that admirable Man.

Who his Father was, we know not. it having been the fate of many other excellent Persons, that the World hath been left ignorant of their Parents, or the Place of their Nativity; but his Mother's Name was Frontonis, the Sifter Suid. ve of the famous Fronto (Nephew pro- defrant. bably to the great Plutarch) by Birth of the City of Emefa, by Profession an Orator, who having, in the Reign of the Emperor Severus, fix'd his Refidence at Athens, became a Competitor for Glory in his publick Exercises with Philostratus the Elder, and Apfines of Gadara, and died at Athens, leaving his Nephew Longinus the Critick his Heir.

Whether Longinus was born at

Pag. 219.

Palmyra, as the Editor of his Book of the Sublime Conjectures, I know not; though it be not altogether improbable that his Mother, who was of Emefa, might marry at Palmyra, a City not far from it; though Tanaquil Faber, in his Edition of that excellent Treas tile, from that Passage of Vopiscus in the Life of Aurelian, (" That Longinus dictated the haughty Epistle of Ze-" nobia to the Emperor Aurelian, tho' " it were written in Syriack -) would conclude, that Longinus was not born in Syria; and that those who determin that that Country was the Place of his Nativity, are confuted by Vopiscus.

He is usually called Dionyfius Longinus, but for what reason, or from what Manuscripts, I know not; Suidas expressly calling him Cassius, though s rather think it should be Casimus, as it is in the old Milan Edition of that Lexicographer, when he reckons up the Authors out of whom he compiled his Work (Aosava & Kanua) Cafinus, Abul Cafimus, and Al-Cafem, being Arabick Names, that commonly occur

in the Saracenick History.

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In his younger days he travell'd into Ep. Longini many Countries to improve his Studies, apud Porph. (his Parents giving themselves the Satis-

faction to travel with him, and to obferve his Proficiency,) where he contracted an Acquaintance with the most learned Men of all Nations, who were the Ornaments of that Age, with Euclides, Democritus, and Proclinus of Troas, the Platonists; with Plotinus. and Gentilianus Amelius, of the same Sect at Rome; with Ammonius and Origen, under whose Tuition he was a long time (probably at Alexandria, where also he acquir'd the Acquaintance of Heliodorus the Peripatetick;) with Theodotus and Eubulus, who kept up the Platonick Succession at Athens; with Themistocles and Phebion, the Stoicks; with Annius and Medius, with Herminus and Lysimachus, with Atheneus and Musonius, of the same School at Athens; as also with Ptolemy, and another Ammonius, the Peripateticks.

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Having thus gratify'd his Curiofity in his Travels, and furnishe his Mind with the useful Learning of the Age, he fix'd at Athens, probably under the Tuition of his Uncle Fronto, who enga-

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ged him in the Study of Philology, where he foon discover'd his excellent Genius. and was reputed the most famous Critick of his time, his Judgment of Authors being so much valued, that it became the Standard of that learned Age: and every Book was either approv'd or condemn'd, as Longinus pronounc'd its fate. At Athens, I conjecture, he wrote his admirable accurate Treatife of the Sublime, upon the Importunity of his Friend Posthumius Terentianus (or, as some other Copies read it, Florentianus) to whom he dedicates it; for, speaking of the most celebrated Orator, he calls him, our Demosthenes, and reckons himfelf among the Greeks. At Athens, Eunap. Vit. Porphyry became his Scholar, a Privilege much valued in that Age; for Longinus was reputed a living Library, his Province engaging him to consider and censure the Writings of the Antients.

And there Longinus changed his Syrian

Name Malchus into that of Porphyrius (as Amelius, upon the same dislike,

call'd him Bafileus) training him up in

the Niceties of Grammar and Rheto-

rick, and accomplishing his Juvenile

Studies; and Porphyry, who himself was

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an excellent Critick, calls him in gratitude (ce ne lou woot & avne, ne etimomala) the Prince of the Criticks, and the best Philologer of his Age: For if any Man had adventured to correct an ancient Writer, his Opinion never found Approbation, till it was confirm'd by the judicious Longinus. Nor was his whole time spent in Criticism; tho' Plotinus, toucht with a little Envy, for they did not agree in all their Sentiments, faid he was a good Philologer, but not a Philosopher; for he profest himself a Platonist, and, as such, celebrated the Festival of Plato (probably his Birth-day) at Athens, according to Porphyr. athe Custom of those Times, with great pud Euleb. Solemnity, and gave himself up to that 1. 10. Allegorical way of Writing to which Porph. Vit. that Sect of Philosophers indulged Plotini. for from him, and Numerius, as well as from the Books of Plato, Origen learn'd his method of Allegorizing the Holy * Scriptures. How long he fill'd the * Porphyr. Platonick Chair at Athens, or who fuc-apud Euseb. ceeded him, I know not; as also, whee c. 19. ther he ever lived at Magnefia ad Sipylum, or not, and were the Prætor of that City, Successor, perhaps, to his

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Uncle Fronto in that Office : fince I find in the Coins of Valerian, 'Em 50. Αύρ. Φε όντων . Μαίνητῶν Σι. h. e. Σιπυ-Anvov (another Aurelius Fronto was Prætor of Byzantium, under Alexander Severus;) and in another of Gallienus. Στρα. Λοίγείνε β'. Μαίνητων Σιπυ. Nor can I fix the Year when he retired into Syria, and settled himself at Palmyra, where his Learning and Wildom rendred him very illustrious, and capacitated him to affift Zenobia with his Counfels. till his death, and to educate her Sons in all good Literature. But though he gave himself to the Study and Practice of the Rules of Government, while he lived at Palmyra, as became a Privy-Counsellor to a great Queen, and there probably writ his Book of Tacticks, for the use of that warlike Empress; yet he was far from deferting his other beloved Muses, but made diligent Enquiries after the Writings of all the Porph. ubi learned Men of that Age, especially of Jup. Plotinus. The Country where he was, lay remote from the known Seats of polite Learning; the People, in an active and contentious Age, were more addicted to Arms than Arts: And the Language

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Language of Palmyrene was fo very different from the usual learned Tongues, that he look'd about him a long time, till he could find a Copyist that underflood fo much Greek, as to enable him to translate the Works of Plotinus : but having found a fit Man, he confin'd him to that Province, as himself relates in his Epiftle to Porphyry: Such a Value did he put on the Works of that profound Platoniff, tho' he did not agree entirely with him, and took an occafion to write against him and Amelius, expressing at the same time a deep Veneration for them both. He encouraged Amelius to visit the East, and of him purchased all Plotinus's Works: And having heard that Porphyry, by his Abstinence, and other Severities. had impair'd his Constitution, he invited him also very earnestly to come to Palmyra, affuring him that that Air would repair his ruin'd Health, and kept up his Correspondence with his old Friends to the day of his death: And there also he wrote his Panegyrick upon Odenathus (probably upon the Death of that heroick Emperor) which Libanius was fo fond of; but whether he

he composed any of those Books at Palmyra, either in Critick (for he censured both Poets and Orators) or Philosophy, the loss of which the learned World bewails, is uncertain: This we know, that that haughty Epistle which Zenobia sent to Aurelian, when he required her to resign her Authority, was said to be dictated by this great Man, the Resentment of which gave occasion to his death; for that severe and proud Emperor hated any thing that seemed to check his Power, or rustle his ambitious Thoughts.

So fell the admirable Longinus, to the grief of all good Men, who bemoan his fate, and the loss of his excellent Writings, most of which, in all likely-hood, perisht when Palmyra was destroy'd. I had some Intentions to have subjoyn'd an Account of his Works, but I superfede that Disquisition, as foreign to my present Design, till some

old Friends to the day of his dear

tibanius was follond of our whether

other Occasion offers. OD aid ou squal

And there also he wrote his Panegovich at And And And Douglas (probably upon the Death of that heroick Emperor) which

C H A P. STRVII.

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hallastis news, Natori prancipus, & fili.

State fair & seposibies en proporanm,

A short Commentary on the Inscriptions.

Have digested the Inscriptions, not as they are set down in the Journal, where they are placed as they incidentally sell under the Traveller's Eye, but under their several Heads, to which they seem reduceable. And first I begin with the Sepulchral Inscriptions, the Epitaphs inscribed upon the Tombs of the People of Palmyra.

ady ordered to barren indiaple.

- was deflaid E incror, Huppolis

Το μνημείου τε παρεών Εκτισεν Τζ εδιών Σεπίμι Οδο άναθ ο δο λαμως ότα παί ου πλητ[ιπος] Αις άνε Ουαβαλλάθε τε Νασώρε άντω τε η ύρις άντε η ύρνοις είς το πάντελες αβώνιον τειμίω.

Which may be thus rendred:

Monumentum sepulchrale propriis sumptibus condidit Septimius Odenathus eminentissimus Senator, Æranis filius, Va-U 4 ballathi

meid.

ballathi nepos, Nasori pronepos, & sibi, & filiis suis, & nepotibus in perpetuum, in bonorem sempiternum.

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This Inscription contains an Account. " That Septimius Odenathus, the most " excellent Senator, had erected that Monument for himself and his Poste-" rity, to preserve their Name for ever. And he hath hitherto had his Wish, the Monument having escap'd the Fury of Time, the Rage of the Roman Soldiers, and the Madness of the superstitious Arabs, who are profest Enemies to all the remains of venerable Antiquity. That this Septimius Odenathus was the fame illustrious Person who afterward

* P. 273. was declar'd Emperor, I suppose, * I have already prov'd to be very probable.

Tagedo occurs not in the Lexicon, but fignifies a Place of Burial. Place is the Sepulchre, the Epigraphe † In 3 A- the Monument, fays † Servius ; Operis extructio sepulchrum, nomen inscriptum monimentum; but a Mausolæum contain'd many Sepulchres, as one Sepulchre might include many Monuments; the Tomb being built very often (as our Vaults) for the service of bellarie

the whole Family, as this of Odenathus was erected for himself, his Sons and Nephews: others, for the Owner, his Children and Servants, &c. whereas wholoever laid violent Hands on him- Plato, 1. 9. felf, was to be buried alone, and with de Legib. out an Inscription; The shorter the Epitaph, the more honourable it was accounted, so it contained the Atchievements of the Person there deposited, it was not to exceed four Heroical Verses, fays Plato, (mi mieico reflapour spoinor sixwo.) and of this kind (i. e. very short) are the Palmyrene Inscriptions. But the Men of Sicyon chose a much Pausan. shorter Method, inscribing only the 1.2. Name of the Dead Person (not mentioning so much as his Father's Name) and wishing him Joy; while the Palmyrenians inserted their Pedigree to four or five Generations past. By fuch Monuments the Antients thought to perpetuate their Memory to Eternity. and for this reason the Grave is commonly called Domus Aterna, Domus V. Gruter. Perpetua, Domus Æternalis, and Se. Passim. pulchri Perpetui Honor; and what is in this Inscription said to be done els 70 mayredes alarge mule, is in another MonuMonument faid to be, perpetion alwrion

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wegs. And with their own Names they inferred those of their Progenitors, that they also might be enrolled in the Annals of Honour. And they often de Legio. took care to infcribe the Epitaph in feveral Languages, that other Nations might be thereby instructed in the Name and Vertues of the Dead, (and perhaps, that they might preferve some remains of their native Language likely to be supplanted and forgotten.) Thus, when Philip had flain the Emperor Gordian, the Army buried him at Circeia Caftra (or Circefium) in the Confines of Perfia, and wrote his Epitaph in Greek and Latin, in the Perfic, Jewish, and Egyptian Languages, that all Nations might understand it, To the Deify'd Gordianus, the Conqueror of the Persians, the Gorts and Sarmatians, the Arbiter of the Roman Seditions, the Conqueror of the Germans; but not the Conqueror of the Philippi, for they murder d'him.

Capitol. Gordian. 3. p. 165.

Se. Paffim.

The Second Inscription contains an Epitaph which Sorachus erected to his Wife

pulch i Perperui Hener; and what is

Domeus A

Wife Martha, Ann. Christi 178. in the 13 of Marcus Antoninus the Emperor:

Μαςθειν Αλεξάνδρε το Καπαδήτε 1. Μας-Οὐαβαλλάθε τε Συμων Ο Σόραιχ Ο Αί- એ. Θάνε άνης αὐτης μνήμης ένεκεν μήνοι Δύτρω τε τι έτες.

eved And may thus be rendred \$1011

In memoriam Marthæ Alexandri Capadeti filiæ, Vaballathi Neptis, Symonis proneptis Soræchus Æranis filius, maritus tilius posuit mense Martio, A. D. 490.

the fame Porton, for he is exprefly

Fahallathus

The Third is of the same nature, appropriated by Malchus to himself and his Children, tho' built by his Ancestors:

Το μνημείον έκποαν † Έλαβηλες, Μαν· † 1. Έλαναίω Σοχαείς. Μαλχω. Ουαβαλλάθε βηλω. τε Μανναίε τε Έλαβηλε αυτώ τε ης ψοίς έτες ΔΙΥ μηνός Ξανδικέ.

Hoc Monumentum condiderunt Elabelus, Mannæus, Sochaeis. Malchus verd Vaballathi filius, Mannei nepos, Blabeli pronepos pronepos hbi, & filiis posuit, anno 414.

It is plain, that in this Inscription there is a mistake in the first line, of Enaßines for Enaßnag, and a greater in Grammar, if Elabelus, Mannæus, and Sochaeis, be taken for the fame Man; I have therefore render'd it literally from the Greek, and have reason to think that there is another mistake in the Name Soyasis, for if Malchus were the Grandion of Mannæus, the Great Grandson of Elebelus, as the Inscription demonstrates, then and Vaballathus must be Sochaeis the same Person, for he is expresly called the Son of Vaballathus; nor is it unpardonable to imagine, that Inscriptions set up by Syrians, who cannot be presum'd exact Masters of Greek, and transcribed in some haste, might be Subject to mistakes, many such (whether of the Graver or Copyist, I cannot determine) frequently occurring to the diligent Reader; and therefore I believe that Doyasis should be chang'd into Bazzala, or Bozzela. (COXACIC) the same Name with Vabal-Pronepos

Vaballathus, by which Alteration the whole Inscription is very intelligible Sence, and Grammar.

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Μυημείον αἰώνιον γέρας ωποδόμησεν Γίχ ... ου εἰς τε ξαυτίν, ἢ ήἐς, ἢ ἀκγόνες * 1. Μαν ετες ΔΙΤ μήνει Ξανδικώ.

Thus rendred:

Monumentum in sempiternum honorem ædisicavit Gichus Mocimi silius, Cælcialcisi nepos, Mannæi pronepos in sui, & natorum, & posterorum sepulturam, anno 314, mense Aprili, i.e. Chr. 2°.

I very much doubt, that more than one fault occurs in the Names of the Persons, (and perhaps for Kaylualings, we may read to nail alian alian alian a common prefix; and Afisus, or Azisus, a Syrian Name. Josephus mentions Azizus a Roytelet of Emesa; it was also the Name of their God Mercury;) and if so, it must be render'd, Mocimi, qui & Azizus, filius, Mannei nepos. But I dare not vouch for the Emendation;

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tion i whatever therefore may become of that Conjecture, it is certain, that there is a mistake in the Date, and that for AIT we ought to read AIY. (Y and T are letters easily confounded,) because in the Inscription, G for E, and w for \O, and \e for E are used, all which never appear in any genuine Coin, or Marble, till Domitian's time, as the Criticks agree.) This Infeription therefore is of the same Year with the precedent, the Monument being fet up, Ann. Chr. 102, the Fourth of the Emperor Trajan: And these two are the most ancient Inscriptions at Tadmur. I have rendred aiwrov zepo by honos sempiternus, upon the Authority of Hesychius, γίρας, πμή, σέβας, άθλον વૈદ્ધમાંડ. I very much doubte that m one thut occurs in the Names of the

Perions, (and podiate to land Handler

From the Inscriptions of the Sepulchres, I proceed to consider their
publick Monuments, erected by the
Order of the Senate and People of the
Commonwealth of Tadmur, to the Honour of such of their Citizens who had
deserv'd well of the Republick. The
first

first that occurs, relates to Alilamenes, or rather Alcamenes.

Ή βελη η δ δημο Αλιλάμενα Πανίε Μοκίμε τε Αλεάνε, τε Μάτιθα, η Αλεάνεω το πατέρα αυτό δύσεβεις η οιλοπαθείδας κ[αι]παντίτε όπω [εὐ]σείμως αρέσαντας τη παθείδι, η παθείοις Θεοίς τείμης χάριν έτες ΝΥ. λ μηνός Ξανδικέ.

Senatus, Populusque (Palmyrenus) Alcamenem Panii Mocimi, qui & Æranes,
filium, Matthæ nepotem, & Æranem
illius patrem viros pios, & patriæ
amantissimos, & omnimodo publicè placentes patriæ, & penatibus bonoris ergô,
anno 450, ultimo mensis Aprilis, b. e.
Ann. Chr. 131. Hadriani Imp. emortuali.

Alcamenes is a Name well known, and frequently occurs; but Alilamenes, no where, that I remember. Alcamenes Thucyd. was one of the Generals of Agis King 1.8. of Sparta, sent into Eubea when that Island revolted from the Athenians, afterward made the Governor of Chios, and slain by the Athenians at Pireaus.

Another

* Ttetz. Arel. 8. p. 147. Another * of that Name, was a famous Statuary in Brass, a Contemporary and Rival of the great Master Phidias; or perhaps it should be read, Alexamenes. Alexamenes the Son of Damon was the Polemarchus, or General of the Ætolians, says † Gruter; and instead of

† Cxxix.

lians, says † Gruter; and instead of Panins, says † Gruter; and instead of Panins, I would read either Pinnius, which is no unusual Name among the Romans (L. Pinnius Celer, & L. Pinnius Celfus occur in the Inscriptions) or rather Phanius; Panil & people the Prates

| DV. in || Gruter; Aπέλλας Φανίε, the Prætor ... Harduin. of Apamia, in the : Coins. That this p. 58. Phanius Macinus was also called Airanes.

Phanius Mocimus was also called Airanes; the Inscription demonstrates, wherein Airanes is expresly called the Father of Alcamenes; they are both magnified for their Piety, and their Love to their Country (as Barachias, and Mocimus his Son, are applauded in the next In-Inscription) to which they were great Benefactors, while in gratitude their fellow-Citizens honoured such Patrons with the magnificent Titles of Kneal (Founders of their City,) Ewinpes (Saviours,) and Everyhtay (Benefactors,) paying them the highest Respect while alive; and perpetuating their Memory when when dead, by a thankful Rememberance, by publick Statues, and noble Inscriptions, according to that excellent Sentence that is happily preserved among the Fragments of the ancient Gratitude in one of Grater's Marbles, 896. 4.

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That good Men, even when they are dead, ought to be recompene'd, and celebrated. Thus the Senate and People of Ancyra, the Metropolis of the Techofagi, honoured L. Fulvius Rusticus Amilianus, Calpurnius Proclus, and T. Flavius V. Marme Twanus, their Benefactors, their Foun- Cosson. ders, and Saviours. This Title of Be- 1,2,3,4. nefactors was sometimes given to Kings, fays the Holy Writ, Luk. 12. 25. to the Ptolemy's, Mithridates, to Philip of Macedon, and other Princes; even to Women, to Berenice is called by Eral tostbenes: sometimes by Sovereigns to their Subjects, fo Artaxerxes honour'd Mordecai with the Title of Benefactor and Saviour, lays * Josephus. Their + Antiq. Names and Archievements, for the Liz. c.6. Prefervation of their Mafters, being recorded (V. Esth. 6. 1, 2.) and a particular Reward always + appointed + V. Hethem : redot. 1.8. lancitus

* Arrian. 1. 3. de Exped. Alex. P. 73-

+ De Isid.

Julian. 0-

rat. 3.

them; at other times to whole Countries, so the Agriaspæ were called * Everytraj, (the Perfian Name is Orofangæ, (ays Herodotus,) because they affisted Cyrus the Son of Cambyfes in his Expedition against the Scythians; a Title that demonstrated their Likeness to the Deities, [for the Egyptians called their Nilus and Ofiris, i. e. the Sun, Omphis, which fignifies a Benefactor, fays † Herto Ofir. to mens in Plutarch, to whom also a good Man was fometimes accounted a Benefactor, for so Clinodemus the Son of Lebotus is by a publick Decree of the Senate and People of Delos declared

V. Oxon. Marm. Apn. 1. 6 3. P. 287

(Euegyethu Tere seps ng Andlow) he and his Posterity Benetactors to the Temple and People of Delos. And Dionyfius of Berytus is celebrated as a Benefactor to his Country Gods, so the learned Editor of the Oxford Marbles, and others, understand the Inscription, Awwing. Ζήνων 🗗 Τέ Θεοδώρε Βηρύπος Εὐεργέτης Ocois maleiois, i. e. Beneficus erga Patries Deas, while the Inscription may be thus rendred, I think more properly, Dionysius Zenonis filius Theodori nepos Berytius beneficus (h. e. solenni decreto

radot. 1.8.

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Sancitus) Diis Patriis (Marmor sc. seu aram posuit, seu dedicavit.) Thus in a curious Inscription found and transcribed by Monsieur Spon, in the Isthmus of Corinth; the Dedication is made, Deois maleious, is The maleid. Publius Miscellan. "Licinius Pyæm. Priscus Iuventianus, erudit. An-"the High Priest for Life, devoting to ". 111. "his Country Gods, and his Country, p. 363. " the Altars which he had built, the Pro-"visions which he had made for the " Athleta, who should come thither to "the Isthmian Games, with other munifi-"cent Buildings erected to their Honour: Upon which account we may well presume him a Favorite to the People of Corintb, and to the Penates; as Alcamenes and his Father Airanes are said to be pleasing not only to their fellow-Citizens, but to their Country Gods, who probably by an Oracle declar'd their good Opinion of their Persons. and acceptance of their Services; for so Julius Aurelius Zenobius is in another of these Inscriptions, said to be P. 97for his extraordinary meritorious Ser- Transact. vices to his Prince and Country, honour'd with a Testimonial from the God Jaribolus, (who was doubtless one

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the Country Gods, or Penates of Palmyra;) and Bolanus declar'd in a third place to be chosen one of the Curators P. 103. of the Fountain Aphaca by the same God Faribolus, the Heathens paying a great Veneration to their Country Gods, or Penates, (for so the old Glosfaries instruct us. Penates, maleion Goth. L. I. θεοί; & vice versa, πατρώοι Θεοί, Penates: and Procopius fays, that Janus c. 25. P. 375. was the first of the antient Gods, whom the Romans call'd Penates, & & lavG. πρώτος μεν ην των άρχαίων Θεών, ες δι Ρωμαΐοι γλώση τη σφετέρα πένηλας, b.e. Penates, czalsv.) For when Julian Ep. 7amthe Emperor would pass an extravagant Complement upon his Friend Jambli. chus, (if the Epistle be his, which I

MEG.

much doubt) he says, that as soon as he came into Bithynia, he offered him his Presents, as if he had been one of his Country Gods, redance malely

Senatus, populusq; Bareichen (seu Barachiam) Amrisamsi silium Jariboleos nepotem, & Mocimum illius silium viros pios, & Patriæ amantes honoris ergo coluit.

This honorary Inscription needs no Commentary, fince it is fo very like the former, unless it be worth remarking that Jariboleus is here the Name of a Man, as elsewhere of a God. it being very usual to give the names of their Deities to their great Men; though perhaps it might not be reckon'd the wildest of Conjectures to imagine, that Amrifamfus was called Jariboleus after the name of his God, to whose Patronage he had committed himself, and by whom he was nominated to some Office, perhaps the Priesthood, as Bolanus was by the same Deity to the Office of Curator of the Fountain Aphaca. And sand the territoria

The following Inscription is very noble, and very instructive.

Ή βελή η δ δήμος Ιέλιον Αυξήλιον Ζηνόβιον τον η Ζαβδίλαν Δισμάλχε τε Χ 3 Ναοσέμε

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Ναος εμε τρα Ινήσαν α εν επιδημία Θε Ε Αλεξένδης, η υπηρετήσαν α παρεσία διηνεκει Ρεπιλίε Κρισπείνε τε ήγησαμένε, η επιδημησείσαις ουηξιλλατίσην, άγορανομησαντάτε η ουμονισωνα φειδήσαν-Τα χρημάτων, η χαλώς πολιτευσάμενον ώς δια παθτα μας τυρηθέν α υπό Θε Ε Ιαριβώλε η υπό Ιελίε τε είς επραιτωρίε, η της πατρίδος τον φιλόπατην τειμής χάριν έτες ΔΝΦ.

S. P. Q. (Palmyrenus) Julium Aurelium Zenobium, qui & Zabdilas, Diofmalchi filium, Nassumi Nept militantem in adventu Dei Alexandri, & indefessa presentia, inservientem Rutillio Crispino Duci, & deductis vexillationibus; ædilem, nec suis parcentem sumptibus, sed & optimum Magistratum, ideóq; testimonio ornatum à Deo Jaribolo, & à Julio nobilissimo Præsecto prætorio, & à Patrià, Patriæ amantem, honorio ergo. Anno. 554. Christi sc. 242. Gordiani tertii.

To understand this Inscription aright, it is requisite to restect upon the State of both the Roman and Persian Empires at that time, which I shall briefly briefly consider. Alexander the Great having made himself Master of all the Zosim. I. r. East, his Successors the Kings of Syria, pag. 18. kept the Possession of that part of the Empire, till Arfaces the Parthian, provok't by the Injuries done to his Brother Tiridates, took Arms, and having flain Pherecles the Governor of the Country, laid the Foundation of the Parthian Empire (which whither it commenc'd under Seleucus Callinicus. or his Father Antiochus, who call'd himself the God, I will not undertake to determine:) This Empire lafted 270 Years, says Agathias out of the L.2. of He-Records of that Country, from Arfa. rodian. 1.6. ces their first King to Artaban the last, under whom Artaxeres, (Zohmus calls more properly Artaxerxes) an obscure Persian, but of an aspiring Mind, of great Courage and Industry, having fermented several of the Natives into a Rebellion, after three Battles fought with fuccess, seiz'd Artaban, and, having muther'd him, put the Crown on his own Head, and fo translated the Empire a second time to the Persians. This happen'd, fays the above-menti- Agath. 1.4. oned Historian, in the five hundredth X 4 and

and thirty eight Year of Alexander the Great, (i. e. of the æra Selencidarum) and in the fourth Year of Alexander the Son of Mammea: Artaxerxes having thus conquer'd the Parthians, and fettled himself in the Throne, the next Year after, viz. the fifth of Alexander, he made his Incursions into the Roman Territories. Alexander at first attempted to divert him from his Inroads by his Letters; but finding the Method unsuccessful, he marcht with a powerful Army into the East, fought that potent Prince, forc't him to fly, and got a glorious Victory, having taken 300 Elephants, destroy'd 200 mgre, flain an Hundred and twenty thousand of their Horse, besides 10000 of their (Cataphractæ) Troops, that were arm'd cap à pe; he also recover'd Mesopotamia out of their hands, and first taught the Persians how to serve the Romans after which he return'd to Antioch, and from thence to Rome, where the Senate decreed him a Triumph, as the Reward of his Services on the 25th of September, Anna Christi 235 emis brood a migth!

This happen'd, lays the above mentic Agath La.

eid Huhorian, in the five hundredth X4

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This Victory, fays Caffiodore in his Fasti, was obtain'd in the first Year of Alexander, Julianus and Crispinus being Confuls, (bis Coff. Alexander Xerxem Regem Perfarum vicit) but he is mistaken; for not to mention, that Julian and Crispinus were not Consuls, till the ? Year of Alexander (who came to the Empire Anno er. vulg. 222. the 10th of March, after Heliogabalus was flain) being fixt by all the other Fafti. (both those of Idatius, and those, which the most Learned Mr. Dodwell hath publishe out of the MSS. of Sir H. Savil, and Haac Vollius) to the Year of Christ 224. Agathias positively avers. that Artaxerxes did not assume the Crown of Perfia, till the fourth Year of Alexander Mammae, which is exactly coincident with the 538th year of the era Seleucidarum, and the vulgar Year of Christ 227; and this account the Historian declares he had from the Archives of the Perfian Kings. apilo at alteriors sull'I

In this Expedition the Palmyrenians declar'd for the Interests of the Romans, against the Persian Usurper, and sent their Troops to their assistance un-

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Lamprid.

pag. 136.

der their General Zenobius. This Zenobius is faid to be the Son Diopualys, or Dioguetys, like Diogues, the Names of the Heathen Gods being ufually given to the Men of illustrious Defcent; this Diosmalchus was the Son of Nassumus : In another Inscription a like name occurs, Μάλωχα Νασέμε. The Expedition of Alexander is stiled Emiliμία Θεβ Αλεξάνδες, that great Prince having been dead some years, when this Inscription was creded, and by the Senate deified, who appointed him a Colledge of Priefts, call'd Alexandriani, and order'd a Festival to be kept on his Birth-day, which the Romans continued to celebrate near a hundred years after, in the days of Constantine the Great; and to this Deification probably the Emounda in the Inscription, hath a remote relation; for the Heathens feldom speak of their Princes, but as of facred Persons, their Persons were numina, and all their Laws and Actions Thus imonuia is often used: when Eunapius treats of the Title of Philostratus's Book of the Life of Apollonius, he faith, it rather ought to be Stiled imanula sis arbewas @18, the Pader gans

gans fetting up that Impostor in oppofition to our bleffed Saviour, who being God, made his appearance among Men. So St. Gregory of Nazianzum, calls our Orat. 38, bleffed Lord's Incarnation Embuguar Θε πρές ανθρώπες. It was the common Opinion of those Ages, that their Gods did upon some solemn days descend from Heaven, put on humane Shape, and appear in those Cities, for which they had a particular Regard,
(as many of the Ancients thought the Martyrs did frequently show them-selves in those places, either where they had been born, or put to death, or buried;) and this Descent they called Vid. Dion. Emonpuia Ois; and being prone to Tarl. 1. Deify their Princes, and to treat them Pag. 408. with all fort of divine Honours, whenever the Emperor vouchfaft to vifit any City, they entertained him with the highest Testimonies of Joy and Exultation, and reputed the Day a solemn Festival; and therefore in the Coins
Emidupua Aut. And Adventus Augusti V. Harduin. fælicissimus frequently occurs, and in num.p.397. another of the Inscriptions at Palmyra, Emidifula Oss Adelars.

Lamprid. p. 61,63.

Capitolin. Maximini.

The Imperial General in this Expedition was Rutillius Crispinus, (the Prænomen of that great Man being restor'd to se him from this Inscription, no ancient Monument else calling him other than Crispinus;) Tullius Crispinus was the Prefedus Pretorio under Didins Juliamus; but he cannot be the Man; but there was another Crispinus, a Man of the Consular Dignity, who with Menephilus, after the barbarous Murther of Alexander Severus, maintained Aqui-2. p. 146. leia against Maximinus, who in vain belieg'd it. They were both fent by Id.p.to 169. the Senate to preserve that important .moid in Place; and they maintain'd their Province with to much Courage, that the Soldiers dispairing to take the City, fell upon their Generals, and flew both Maximin and his Son, in their Tents. The same Grispinus had been long before Collegue with Julianus in the Confulfhip ann. of Alexander Severus, of Christ 244. from the Death of Alexander, the Great 547. and from the Year of Augustus (or the Epocha of the Battel at Actium) 253, say the ancient Fasti, publisht by the most-Learned

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Dodwell. Upon this General Crispinus Zenobius of Palmyra, was a constant Attendant, affilting the Auxiliary Troops with whatever Necessaries they stood in need of in those barren Defarts; Oungi Marion : i. e. Vexillationibus, Vexillariis, or auxiliariis, the words being of an equivalent inport; for those very Troops, which Taci- V. Salmas. tus calls in one place auxiliorum co- in H. A. Script. p. bortes, he presently after stiles vexil- 125. 455. lares cohortes, the whole Roman Army being divided into their own Legions; and Auxiliaries, fays Monfieur Saumaife, auxilia in cohortes divifa, cohortes in vexilla, itaq; cohors semper de auxiliis, & vexilla de cobortibus; the Dux Vexillorum in the Inscriptions being the same with the Præpositus auxiliorum.

Zenobius was also ἀγορανόμος, or ædile of his City, (the Office I have already accounted for) and he adorn'd his Province with great Magnificence, for so I read ἐκονίσωνα ἐ τῶν ιδίων (or ἴων) ἀρειδύσανλα χεημάτων, the Phrase ἐξ ιδίων frequently occuring in these,

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these, as in several other Inscriptions; and for this Reason, among others, he is honour'd with the Title of a good Magistrate, rand for this generous and beloved Officer had his publick Testimonies, that he deserv'd the noblest Character that could have been given of him, since both the Gods and Men were Vouchers for his Merit; the God Jaribolus, Julius Philippus, the Prasectus Pratorio of the East, together with all his sellow-Citizens, having publickly attested his Love to his Country. Of the God Jaribolus, and his Oracle, I have spoken

P.168,169 ribolus, and his Oracle, I have spoken already; and the Monument it self is an undeniable Proof of the Regard his Country had to him, and with what respect the Roman Governour of the East treated him. Who this Præfectus Prætorio of the East was, will be easily found, if we restect on the Date of the Inscription, an. er. Seleucid. 554. i. e. Christi 242. the year before the youngest Gordian was slain; at which time Julius Philippus the Arabian, was the Præfectus Præt. of the East.

P.161,162. Capitolinus affirms, that Gordian proclaim'd the War, and went into Persia, when when Prætextatus and Atticus were Consuls: i. e. fays Onupbrius, in the year of Christ, according to the vulgar Computation, 242. for then C. Aufidius Atticus, and C. Aufinius Pretextatus were Confuls; that Misitheus died, and Philip succeeded him, Apriano, and Papo Coff. that is, the year after, an. Christi 243. for then C. Julius Arrianus, and Æmilius Papus were Confuls; but that the Year tollowing, when Peregrinus, and Fulvius Æmilianus were Confuls, Gordian was flain the first of March, and Philip succeeded him. So say the Fasti of Idatius, and others; and so fays Cashodore, (that in the Consulate of Peregrinus and Æmilianus, Gordian was flain by Philip, as he was returning home crown'd with Lawrel for the Conquest of the Persians, not far from the Roman Territories near Circefium; for there he was buried, that being the Roman Boundary toward the East; and that the Army built him a Tomb on the Euphrates, the Place being called the Sepulchre of Gordian, fays Aur. Victor, but carried his Bones to Rome:) nor do the Fasti in Sir H. Savil's MS. fet out by Mr. Dodwell, 7hololy

well, disagree, only they fix the Confuls a year higher, which the Palmyrene Inscription confirms, in which Philip is expressly said to have been the Præfectus Prætorio of the East; an.

554. h. e. Cbr. 242.

From whence also we may collect, that the City of Palmyra was in the Expedition of Gordian, as well as in that of Alexander a Confederate, and an Affistant to the Romans. How that Common-wealth behaved it felf toward Philip the Murtherer, and Successor of Gordian, we have no Records: but from the rasure in the Inscription we may conclude, that they hated his Name and Memory: In truth fo odious were the Person and Actions of Philip, that no one Historian, that I remember, hath written his Life; and those who treat of him by the by, call him perfidious Wretch. Aurelius Victor Stiles him Thraconites, i.e. a Native of the Region of Traconitis, (born at Bostra in Arabia fays Triftan,) he was of a very mean Parentage and Original; his Father a true Arab, a Captain of Bandiri, (his name Saturninus, says Tristan) his Life ignominious, and his Death fuch as he deserv'd

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he 'd deserv'd, being sacrificed by Decius to the angry Manes of his Predecessor; tis true, Eutropius affirms, that he was deify'd after his Death, but so were many of the worst of Emperors. ter he affum'd the Purple, he made an ignominious Peace with the Persians, and leaving his Brother Priscus his Go- zofim. L. I. vernour of the East, he march't to p. 20. Rome. Priscus behav'd himself so insolently in his Office, and laid such heavy Taxes on the People, that in a little time he became insufferable, insomuch that the Natives betook themselves to their Arms, and chose Papianus (others call him Jotapianus) Émperor, having, as it is very probable, flain Priscus; and Philip himself a little time after fell by the hand of Decius. And at this time, I believe, the rasure was made in the Inscription at Palmyra, it being no unusual Practice both at Rome and in the East, as to deface the Statues of eminent Persons, when fallen into disgrace: so to scratch out their Names out of the honorary Inscriptions, devoted to their Memory: Thus in an Epigraphe at Rome, the name of Stilisho Grut. 161.1 is eras't, (though his Titles are left un-

toucht, as in the Palmyrene Inscription, V.C. & inlustris militis, & magistri utriusq; militiæ,) as is also the name of Fl. Macrobius Longinianus the then Goorut. 178. vernor of Rome: the name of Maximi-8. 330. 3. anus in a 2d, of Commodus in a 3d, to o-

mit other Instances.

Η βελή η δ δημ. Σεπίμιον τον κεάπιςου Επίτεςπου Σεβας δ Δεκονάς ιου · εοδότιω τ μητροπολωνείας, η άναπομίσαν λα τὰς σιμοδίας εξίδιων, ѝ μαςπιοηθέν Τα ύπο τω Αςχεμπόςων, ή λαμπεως σεαληγήσανλα, η άγορανομήσανλα της αυτής μητροπολωνείας, η πλείτα οίκοθεν αναλώσανία, η άξεσαντα τήτε αῦτή Βελή, η τω δίμω, η νωσί λαμπρώς συμποσαρχον τῶν το Διὸς Βήλε ιερῶν, τει-

S. P. Q (Palmyrenus) Septimium (Orodem) optimum Procuratorem Ducenarium Augusti, qui oleum curavit donandum Metropoli coloniæ, quiq; privatà impensa, & suo sumptu commeatum mercatoribus iter commune facientibus præbuit : & à negotiorum præsidibus am plum testimonium adeptus est; fortiter, & cum laude militantem, & ædilem ejusdem Metropolews coloniæ, plurimas

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etiam opes domi impendentem; ideog; placentem eidem senatui, Populog; & nunc magnifice Modimperatorem agentem in sacrificiis Jouis Beli, bonoris ergo coluit. mense Martios Ann.

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In three several Inscriptions erected to the Honour of Septimius Orodes, this by the Senate of Palmyra, and two others by his Friend Julius Palmes, (for I no way doubt, but they all belong to the same Illustrious Person, and were fet up in the same Year, and the same Month;) he is said to have been the Procurator Ducenarius to Odanathus. (for there could be no other Emperor at Palmyra in the Year of Christ 266.) and to have done many good Offices for his Country, particularly for the Merchants, who honour'd him with a publick Testimonial of their Gratitude: what the Office of the integra Se-Bas & Sunvael was, what the ayong Vid. Appen. ibus, and outeronal xs. I have already declar'd: the imperfect word soSotle is by Mr. Halley rendred recoording, (it being unquestionable, that the Ancients did distribute, besides Bread, and other Largefles, Flesh to the

the People; the Law calls it Visceratio, and the old Glossary, Visceratio, agricages, εὐφεικόα;) but if I might be allowed the liberty of making another Conjecture, I would read it ελαιοδότω, (or as the Syrian Graver might spell it ελειοδότω) the Custom of bestowing Oyl upon the Citizens on solemn Festivals, being well understood: Cestrania Severina gave a great Sum to the Colledge of the Dendrophari, that every year upon her

Birth-day such a quantity of Oyl might be distributed to every one of them.

Id. 414. 2. And T. Fundilius Geminus gave, besides his Bequest to the Chest of the Augustales, and the Magistrates, &c. to the

Id. 136. 5. People a Feast, and a Largess of Oyl on his Birth day. And L. Cacilius bequeath'd to the Inhabitants of Como every year on the Feast of Neptune, Oyl for their Gymnasia, and their Baths, and for the Exercises in the publick Places of Sport, (as I would rendert he words, in campo.)

I have read unleonodoveia, unleonodoveia, unleonodoveia, (as many other Eastern Cities are stilled in the Coins) though P.130.65c. Monsieur Patin, in his Edition of the Coins

Coins of Maurocenus, retains unleono-Awreia in those of the Cities of Emsea, Carræ, and Antioch, (Cities of the East not far from Palmyra;) in all which I am of opinion, the word should be rendred Metropolis colonia, un eono revers never appearing in any Lexicon; own-Na is rendred by the Critics Conjunction in via, or iter commune; and Septimius is magnified in the Inscription for his defraying the Expence of the Caravan, for which reason the Presidents of the Merchants in a publick Meeting gave him their Testimonial, according to custom: So Metrodorus the Son of Her- Grut. 309. mogenes, the Grandson of Metrodorus, was honoured with a Testimonial from the whole Synod, or Colledge of Priests of Geres, and advanc'd to the Office of Stephanephorus, or the President, of their Country in holy things, (& outod & συμμαςτυρασ · τον σερανηρόρον) and Inscript. others are said to have been (Trun 0 &v- Cossou. n.12, las en candinais) rewarded with the Thanks of their publick Assemblies: the Merits of Septimius were as illustrious as his Country's Love toward him: He had obliged their private Societies, and been very magnificent to the whole

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City; he had been an Officer, and behav'd himself with Courage and Reputation under his Prince Odenathus, probably when he routed the Persians; and was that year, when the Monument was erected, the Symposiarch in the Festival dedicated to Jupiter Belus their Patron Deity, viz. in the year 266. after Christ, and of the Empire of Odenathus the ‡.

I proceed in the next place to confider the Monuments erected by private Persons to the Memory of their Friends: The first of which contains the grateful Remembrance which the Palmyrene Merchants, trading to Vologesias, retain'd of the great Services, which Julius Aurelius Zebeidas did them in that Expedition.

Τέλιον Αὐζήλιον Ζεβείδαν Μοκίμε τε Ζεβείδε αδωςοβαιδα οί σων αὐτώ κατελθόνθες εἰς Ὁλογεπάδα εὐπόςοιαν ές ποαν αξέσανθα αὐτοῖς τειμῆς χάςιν Ξανδικώ τε, ΗΝΦ έτες

Which, with leave to fill up the vacant Spaces, and to correct the Mistakes, may thus be read and rendred:

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Ιέλιου Αυξήλιου Ζεβείδαν Μοκίμε τε Ζεβείδε περγμαθείας θεωε ου αίδιου οί σων αυτώ καθελθύνθες είς Ολογεσιάδα εμπόριου ές πο αυτοϊς τειμης χάριυ Ξανδικώ τε, ΗΝΦ έτες

Julium Aurelium Zebeidam Mocimi F. Zebeidæ N. perpetuum commercii curatorem qui cum illo descenderunt ad emporium Vologessiam elegerunt, virum iis gratissimum, cultus gratia: Mense Martio, anno 558. h.e. Christi 246. Phislippi Arabis Imp. 2°.

That Palmyra was a City of great Trade, and the Inhabitants eminent Merchants, hath been already prov'd from Appian and Pliny; as also that their Commerce was maintain'd both with Persia and the Western Empire; which also was done by other Frontier Cities, though under the Jurisdiction of the Roman Princes, as by Nisibus and Edessa; of whom the old Geographer says, that "they were peopled "with Men of condition, excellently

" skill'd in all the Methods of Trade, is no na. " great Navigators, very rich, and Ma- 5.16.p.19

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" sters of all worldly Plenty; that "what they bought of the Persians, "they sold to the Romans, dealing in all sort of Commodities, but Contraband Goods, Brass and Iron, which they were forbidden to sell to the Enemies of Persia. Which Character seems exactly suited to the Palmyrene Merchants.

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For that they traded to Vologefias, (a City under the Persian Jurisdiction) is plain from the Inscription; in which Odogena's is neither the Town of Olgassus, nor the Name of a Man, but of a samous City on the Euphrates, not far from its Confluence with the Tigris.

Nat. Hift. Babylon, says * Pliny, was once the Seat 1. 6. \$.30. of the Eastern Empire, and the great p. 71 2. Mart of Trade, but it fell into decay

Mart of Trade; but it fell into decay, when Seleucus Nicator built Seleucia, where the two Rivers meet, situated in a most fruitful Soil, and commonly called Babylon. To eclipse the Glory, and lower the Trade of Seleucia; the Parthians, after they had made themselves Masters of the East, built Ctestphon, three miles from Seleucia on the Eastern Bank of Tigris, and there fixt the Residence of their Kings; but, this Project

Project not answering expectation, King Volegeses (who in a Coin in the Cabinet of Pope Alexander the 7th, is stiled Βολόραισ G., with all his lofty Titles, according to the Rhodomontade of the Parthian and Perfian Kings; Bankeus Bankews, imparis, pilétile; to which Epithets, in another Coin in Monsieur Patin, is added Sixus being Contemporary with Nero and Vespasian. built another City, which from his own Name he called Vologesocerta, in the Neighbourhood, (18 miles distant, say the Peutinger Tables;) but to the South of Babylon, and there, probably, fixt the staple of Trade from the Persian Gulph, and the other parts of the East. This City is called by Stephanus Βολογιατιάς, by Ptolomee Ουολγισιάς; Volocessia in the Peutinger Tables, and Vologe fia by Ammianus Marcellinus; but by Pliny, according to the Perfic Termination, Vologesocerta. Κέρλα πόλις υπο Aemerlar, says Hesychius; to prove which Affertion there is an eminent Passage in Pliny; that among the Cities N. H. of Armenia the Less, Armosate is situate 1. 6. S. 10. near the Euphrates, Carcathiocerta near 1. 662. Lib. 11. the Tigris, (which * Strabo affirms, was p. 527. the

p. 71.

Chil. 8. c. 224.

the Royal City of Sophene;) but on the Mountains Tigranocerta stood. And for *L.5. c.13. Artafigarta, which Ptolemee * places in Armenia the Greater, I would read Artaxicerta; Zadracarta being also the + Lib. 3. de chief City of Hyrcania, fays + Arrian. exped Alex. And I cannot but remark, that this word, either in Termination, or Præfixt, in almost all Languages signifies a City. In Hebrew Kiriath- Arba is the City of Arba, Kiriath-Sepher is the City of Books; in the Punick, Carthage is the new City; in the Scythian, Carpaluk the City of Fish; fays Tzetzes, ro Κάρμ 3 πόλις Σπυθικών, το δε πάλεκ ix θύες. And in our own British Cair-Lundein, London; Cair-Kent, Canterbury; Cair-went, Winchester, &c. and probably among the Ægyptians Gran-Cair hath its name from this Original, or al Cabira, as the Arabians call it.

To this City Vologefia, the Merchants of Palmyra traded, not long after it was made a Mart by the King, who founded it; but the Commerce was often interrupted by the frequent Wars made by the Romans and Perfians against each other; particularly during the Expedition of Gordianus in-

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to the East; but when Philip the Arab, having murdred that excellent Emperor, succeeded him, and made an ignominious Peace with Sapores in the first year of his Reign, the Persian Company at Palmyra sent Julius Aurelius Zebeidas, with other eminent Persons of their Society, to Vologefia to re-establish their Factory, and adjust all Differences that had happen'd fince the War broke out: And he discharg'd that Office to faithfully, and to much to their Satisfaction, that upon his return they erected a Monument with an honorary Inscription to his Memory, which is still preferv'd, and as a Reward of his great Services, chose him their President. For so I am inclin'd to read that broken, and unintelligible part of the Inscription; measuraleias beauty aislow οί σιεύ αὐτῷ κατελθόν/ες εἰς Ολογεπάδα Emmoe con Esnoar. Beweds ab wen; i. e. pegvis, curator; fay the Lexicographers; it commonly fignifies rerum divinarum curatorem, Tav deiwo pe goliCov-12, but here a President or Inspector. isnow, sixovio, lays Hesychius.

The two following Inscriptions concern the same Persons.

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Σεπίμιον Ουορώδην τον πράτισον ἐπίιροπον Σεβασε Δεκηνάριον κὰ ᾿Αροαπέτίω
Ιέλι Αὐρήλι Εάλμης Καοσιανε τε Μελεναίε Ιππευς Ρωμαίων τον φίλον, κὰ προσάτίω έτες ΗΟΦ. μήνει Ξανδικώ.

Septimium Orodem optimum Procuratorem Augusti Ducenarium & Archegetam Julius Aurelius Palmes Cassiani F. Melenæi N. Eques Romanus amicum, & Patronum. Anno 578. mense Martio; h. e. Christi 266. Odenathi 2°

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Σεπίμιον Ουοςώδην τον κεάλισον ἐπίτος τροπον. Σεβας δεκηνάριον η Αροαπέτην Ιέλι Αυρήλι Α, Εάλμης Πύιλο Α Μελεναίος Μάλωχα Ναοσέμε δ κεάτισος τον ρίλον, η προσάτιω τειμής ένεκεν έτες μήνει Ξανδικώ.

Septimium Orodem optimum Procuratorem Augusti Ducenarium, & Archegetam Julius Aurelius Palmes, Publius Melenæus lenæus Malchi F. Nassumi N. vir præstantissimus amicum, & patronum bonoris ergo anno · · · · mense Martio, (coluerunt.)

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Of Septimius Orodes, I have discours't in the Comment on the eighth Inscription, and of his eminent Employments under Odanathus, as his Procurator Ducenarius, and in the City, as their Ædilis and Sympofiarch; in these two Inscriptions he is stiled Agyayerus, (for fo I would read the unintelligible agoametur not agrazione, as Mr. Halley conjectures; the Præfectus annone, the Officer, who took care the City should not want Bread; because he is said to be meosarus the Patron of Julius Aurelius Palmes the Roman Knight, who was not a Native of Palmyra, the T and II being Letters easily mistaken one for the other; and in one Copy of the Inscription it is thus written, APA-TIHTHN.) Now the Archegeta was the Chief, or President of his Tribe, says Hesychius (V. Agxnylla, ngwes ἐπώνυμοι τ φυλών η θεοί εν Αθήναις, Id. v. επώνυμοι, οί τ φυλών ἐπώνυμοι ήρωες, οίme noarding) the Heroe, from whom the Tribe had its name; they were honour'd

honour'd with Statues of Brass, says the *V. Emin. * Etymolog. magnum, and were Persons "Gov. lot. of the most eminent Dignity; their number at Athens was ten, Erechtheus, Ægeus, Pandion, &c. and of the fame number were their Tribes; their Authority was great, and their Power extensive, (Hes. Aganyerus agawn. Apanyeras apxovlas: Theodorit, 1.3: Begg-TEN, citing Plutarch deoracul, defectu, calls Arfalus, Aryus, and Tofobis, whom Saturn slew, but the Lycians deify'd, Agynyéras Tav Aunian, whom Plutarch calls apportes; and the same Author in the Life of Lycurgus, says the King of Sparta was their Aganzierus) the name was particularly given to those who were the Leaders or Captains of Colonies, when they were transplanted, and their Protectors: So + Xenophon fays

of Hercules, Heander πώ πμετέρω Αρχη. || Vit. Alci- yery. || Plutarch of Minerva, Aganyens Abive; and the old Inscription to Apolbiad. * It. Athen. lo, in Monsieur * Spon. Anothow Approph-

t. 150. The is also stiled by Thucydides to p. 150. who mentions an Altar erected to Apol-P. 349.

lo Approjerus, by the Inhabitants of Chalce, who left Eubea, and built Naxus, upon which the Priests (Oew

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pol) used to offer Sacrifice, before they left Sicily, whenever they undertook a Voyage. Apollo was fo called, says the old Scholiast upon Pindar *, be- *V.cluver. cause he was the Author of that Expe-Sicil. p. 93, dition of the Naxians, when they went into Sicily; or as + Appian lays, & Set Lib. 5. Αρχηγέτης Απόλλων @ αγαλμώπου 83, Bell. civil. όπρωτον ές ποανίο Ναξίων δι είς Σικελίαν

απωνισμένοι.

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This President, or Prince of the Tribe, was fometimes stiled the Pbylarchus, (φύλαρχ Θι φυλης άρχων in He-Sychius) or quapyon, as it is in the Ancyran Inscription above mention'd; p. 240. for where-ever the quapyou is named, v. Memor. the puli is also named in the same In- Cosson. scription. And the Phylarchs of the 1. 142. Saracens were so called, because the People were divided into 12 Tribes; over every one of which was establish'd a Prince, called the Phylarchus, a Custom kept up by the Goths, and other barbarous Nations. To what number the Tribes at Palmyra amounted, I know not; but that Septimius Orodes was the chief of one of them, is manifelt from the Inscription; nor do I doubt but those Chiefs had the power to admit a Foreigner

Foreigner to the Priviledges of the Tribe, and to give him their Protection; and therefore Orodes is faid to be Friend to Julius Aurelius Palmes, and his Patron. (Προςάτων) Ηείγε. προςασία, πυβέρνησις, Gloff. vet. προςασία Pratrocinium, προςάλης Patronus, præpositus. And V. Hersame, Harpocration affirms, that no Foreigner

Ф метойков.

was permitted to leave his own City, and to fettle at Athens, unless one of the Citizens undertook to be his Patron, (ἀναίναῖου ηδ ἢυ ἐκάςφ τῶν μελοίκων πολίτιω πνα Αθηναίων νέμειν προςάτιω) the fine the Foreigner, when so patroniz'd, paid to the City was 12 Drachmas, called from those who paid the Tax melosuor, which who foever refused to lay down, he was brought to the (πω-Anzal) Officers, who took care of their Tolls, and fold, being for the most part condemn'd to the Gallies. Nor can I doubt but the same Custom of Patronizing Foreigners was observ'd in other Cities, particularly at Palmyra; this Patronage sometimes covered only Marm. Cof- private Persons: Thus at Ancyra, Flavianus Eutyches acknowledges, C. Al.

lon. 5.

Flavianus Sulpicius his Patron, T. A.A. φλαειανον Σελ πίπιον δίς π · λατάρχην,

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(Lege Γαλατάς χην) τον άγνότατον η δικαιδτατον Φλαυϊάν . Εύτυχης τον γλυκύπατον πάτρωνα. Eutyches, I doubt not, was his Libertus, and acknowledg'd the Patronage of his quondam Master, who had made him free; fuch Testimonials of Gratitude being as usual, as just, (and fometimes it happen'd the Freedman himself became a Patron; so Tiberius Grut. 610. Claudins the Libertus of Augustus, is called the Patron of his Parents, to whom he erected a Monument.) Sometimes the Patronage reach'd Societies, and Companies of Trade, (so we read of the Patrons of the Colleges of the Arvales, Grut. pass. the Dendrophori, the Companies of Smiths, the Braziers, the Fishermen, and Shipwrights, &c.) sometimes whole Cities and Regions, and the Title and Office was very honourable, C. Torafius being by the unanimous Suffrages of the Magistrates chosen the Patron of a Town by the River Clitumnus, (ob merita ejus erga Remp.) for his great Services done to the Common-wealth.

This Patronage it was requisite that even the Romans themselves (during the Reign of Odenathus in the East, in whose time the Inscriptions were made)

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should court, as Julius Palmes did; Deall him Palmes because it is a known Ro. man name, (and perhaps Melenaus should be written Mellinius, or Menelaus) for which reston I have inferted Publius for Puilsus. He was a Man of the Equestrian Dignity, which invitled him at Rome to eminent Privileges; which I shall not minutely enumerate, only mentioning, that the Roman Knights install'd the Princeps juventutis, presenting him with a Horseman's Shield, (Parma) and a Silver Spear; for fo fays the Ancyran Marble, as Gronovius judiciously hath supplied the eras't Marm. An-Letters. Equites autem Romani univer-

eyr.p.60.84 si Principem Juventutis Romanorum par-

mis utruma; & hastis argenteis donatum appellaverunt; for that both Caius and Lucius were Principes juventutis, the Coins put out of all doubt: And that whenever a Native of any of the Romon Colonies was admitted to the Honour of being made a Roman Knight; he reckon'd the Privilege among his no-

Grut. 388. blest Titles: So L. Claudius, the chief-4. 400. 3: est Person of the Island of Malta, glories Marm. Cof. in the Honour, as does Fl. Ælianus, (or Ti. Flavius Teanus, as it is written in

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the Marble of Cosson) though the Highpriest of the whole Province of Galatia, and Galatarches, the 2d Founder of his native City Ancyra, and their Emballador to the Emperor Antoninus.

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Σεπθίμαον Αιρονία Οδαινάθε τον λαμπρότα τον συγκλητικών.

Septimium Airanem Odænathi filium fenatorem eminentissimum.

I have already prov'd it not unlikely, that this Airanes was the Son of the Emperor Odenathus, before he assum'd the Purple, from his name Septimius, the name of his Father being also inferted, and from the Date of the following Inscription on the same Pillar, viz. ann. Christi 251. but 13 years before Odenathus was chosen by Gallienus, his Co-partner in the Government of the World.

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Eža ···	· · v Tav Augnas · ·	·· e Hai-
68wg	· σραπωτης λε · · ·	···· nus
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Z 2 Aurelius

Aurelius Valerius Heliodorus Præfectus Legionis Illyriciorum in honorem Patrum, & gratulationis ergô anno 363. h. e. Chr. 251. Decii ult.

I have given the name Valerius to Heliodorus to fill up the Vacancy, because it occurs elsewhere, (L. P. Valerius Heliodorus) and because the e that appears before Haisbue feems to be last Letter of Ouzhne, a like Vacancy occurring in the same name in another Inscription. This Heliodorus was, I doubt not, either the Son of, if not the same Person with, Lucius Aurelius Heliodorus, the Son of Antiochus, a Citizen of Palmyra; who in an Inscription at Rome, publisht by Gruter, (but more accurately by Tristan and Spon) erected a Silver Statue, (σίγνον) with all its Ornaments, to Aglibelus and Malachbelus, the Gods of his Country, for the safety of himfelf, his Wife and Children, in the Year 547. according to the Computation of his Country, but in the Year of Christ 235. being the last year of the Reign of Alexander Severus, the Inscription lately found at Palmyra bearing date 16 years

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years after, ann. Chr. 251. which was the last year of the Emperor Decius. He is stiled Adelavos maximenvos, Marble at Rome, (Tristan reads it Adeiaveus) not because an Inhabitant of Palmyra, which from their Benefactor was called Hadrianople; for then it should have been written Adplanomodious, but by miltake of the Graver, or Transcriber; for Adeland, he being one of the College of Priefts (Sodalis Hadrianalis) dedicated to the Service of that Emperor, after the Senate had deify'd him: For, that he was acknowledg'd a God at Palmyra, is plain from another Inscription; in which he is called, Oeds Adexards. And in that City, I doubt not but Heliodorus was one of his Priests, (oesasopavins) Adelaver a Priest of Hadrian, as Adelaveior a Temple built to his Memory, and Aspiaveia, the Plays instituted to his Honour. him agxisealiatis, the same with apxisealnyos, which occurs in another * In- * Reinef.cl, scription, (or arnsealiarns for arnsea-VI. n. 101. Inyos, Proprætore) and have given him the Command of the Illyrian Legion, because in after-times (and probably in the days of Decius) that Legion was

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deputed to lye in Garrison at Palmyra, as says the Notitia of the Oriental Empire; Sub Duce Phanices Præfeduræ, (or, as it is much better in the MS. Præfedus) Legionis primæ Illyriciorum

Palmyræ.

Against my Opinion, that both the Inscriptions concern the same Person, I have met with but one Objection; that in the one Marble he is called a Priest, in the other a Soldier, as if the Offices were incompatible: But the Answer to the Objection is very easy, fince it was usual in those days for one and the same Person, to put on the Sacerdotal Habit, and the Military, (as there have been in all the later Ages of the Church Martial Bilhops and Priefts) to omit the Emperors, who were for the most part Generals of their own Armies, and at the same time High-Priests; and to confine my felf to the College of Priests deputed to the Service of Hadrian: * Lucius Ragonius was

* Grut. Vice of Hadrian; * Lucius Ragonius Was XLV. 9. a Sodalis Hadrianalis, & Legatus Legio†cccexii.2. nis 13. Geminæ. † Septimius Aper
Octavius is stiled Sodalis Hadrianalis,
and Sevir turmæ secundæ Equitum Ro[MXC.13, manorum; and M. Ælius Aurelius Clea,

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is called Sodalis Hadrianalis, & Tribunus militum, & Laticlavus Legionis 12.

Fulminatricis. To which I may add, that Marc Antony to ingratiate himself with Augustus, as Appian affirms, became one of the Priests of Julius Cafar; and Lucius Julius Bonatus was the *DLXV4. High-Priest of all the Temples in Asia, and the General of the Forces of the Lydians. Other Instances of this kind frequently occur in the old Inscriptions.

Nor is it a just Argument against my Emendation, that Heliodorus has many names, it not being unufual for the fame Person to have 4 or 5 names; e.gr. Lucius Livius Sulpicius Galba, Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus, P. Licinius Pyem. Priscus Juventianus: And among infinite other such Examples, that in Gruter comes nearest the Palmyrene; DCVIIL7. L. P. Valerio Heliodoro Tr. Leg. 2. Adjutricis L. P. Valerius Chilo Filius ejus. I shall only add, that there was an Aurelius Heliodorus, a Freedman of one of the Cafars, whom Gruter mentions, but of which of the Cæfars, or whither the same Heliodore with the Palmyrenian, I cannot determine.

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υπίλιον Ουορωδίω συγκλη ικών ή βελευτών Παλμωρηνών Βηλακαβοσαρσα τον φίλον τειμής χάρ ω έτες ΟΦ.

Rupilium Orodem Senatorem, & Duum-virum Palmyrenum Belacabus Arsacis filius amicum cultus gratia honoravit, anno 570. h. e. Christi 258. Valeriani 4°.

Rupilius is a name that frequently occurs in the Books, and Marbles of the Ancients, and therefore I shall only mention Rupilius Bonus, whose Daughter Rupilia Faustina was the Grand mother by the Father's side to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus the Philosopher, fays Capitolinus; whither I have as happily rendred the name of Rupilius Orodes's Friend, who honour'd him with the Inscription, (or whither it should be read Bulas Sabie Agoa, Belas Saporis filius, Arsacis nepos, or any other way) I think is not much material, The Titles of Orodes have been already considered.

P. 22.

15.

Μαλευτον η Αγείππαν Ιαραίε τε Ρααίε γραμματέα γενόμενον το δεύτερον επδημία Θεέ Αδριανέ άλιμμα παρασχότα ξένοις τε η πολείταις.

Malech, qui & Agrippa, Jaræi fil. Raæi nep. secundò scribam (civitatis Palmyrenæ) in adventu Dei Hadriani, unquenta præbentem tam hospitibus, quàm incolis inservientem exercitui, — & templum Jovis Beli (ornantem),

I have adventur'd to change the name Malen, which no where occurs, into Malech, (N and X being Letters of similar shape, and make) which is a known, and common name among the Syrians and Arabs, among whom the Philosopher Porphyry was call'd Malchus, Malchus the High-Priest's Servant was probably of that Country, and Malech Podosaces was one of the Phy-Am. Marcello Podosaces was one of the Phy-Cellin. 1.24-larchs of Arabia, when Julian the Apo-c. 2.

state Emperor made his Expedition a-

gainst the Persians: The Office of Matech Agrippa was very honourable; he was Secretary of State to the Republigk of Palmyra, when Hadrian marcht into the East; i.e. in the 6th year of his Empire, anno Christi 122. says Eu-In which Expedition I am encouraged by the broken parts of the Inscription, to believe he affifted the Army with his Person and Services; the Fragments being somewhat like part of the 7th Inscription; that he was a Benefactor to his City and Country, appears from the grateful Memorial erected to his name; wherein mention is made of the Temple of Jupiter Belus, (fo I have fill'd the Vacancy from another *Infcription;) to which, I question not but he had been a munificent Benefactor; perhaps he had been Symposiarch, as Septimius Orodes was afterwards. He also gave a Largels to the publick Baths at Palmyra of Oyl for all. Persons, who should frequent those Bagnids, whether Strangers or Citizens; it being usual among the Ancients to 161.376.5. make fuch Donations: So + L. Cacilius Cile gave to the People of Come by his

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Will Ost for their Baths; Exerque, unquentum, days the old Gloffary. For the Baths of every City were lookt upon not only as ornamental, but highly uleful, and great Promoters of Health and Vigor; the building fuch Structures is reckon'd among the noblest Acts of Magnificence in Agrippa, Titus, Dioclefian, Constantine, and others; the repairing of them when ruinous, esteem'd a Princely Benefaction; some are celebrated for building Gynmafia, or Porticos, others for floring the Apartments with Marble, a third fort for bringing Water from a great distance for the Service of the Bagnio; and others made an allowance for the Oyl that should be spent there in the Gymnasia annext to the Bath; all which appears in the Inscriptions of Gruter. To these Privi- P. 180, leges sometimes particular Persons were pais. admitted, or particular Sexes, mixt Bathings being expresly prohibited, says Lampridius; in other places only the Freemen of the City, fometimes even Servants were allowed to frequent the place and Foreigners: 6. Arunceius P. 181. 1. Gotta Colonis incolis, bospitibus adventoribus, servifg; corum tavationem ex fua pecunia

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Capitolin. pecunia gratuitam perpetuo dedit; & AnAnton.p.19
toninus Pius gave the People liberty to
use his own Bath gratis. To the Bath
there commonly was annext a RacketCourt (Spæristerium) as well as a
P.178.in 5. Bathing-place (Dioclesian in Spheristerio nymfeum sieri curavit) where
those, who frequented the Bagnio, gave
themselves their Heats, before they went

into the Bath; so Martial,

Redde pilam, lonat æs thermarum; Ludere pergis? Virgine vis sola sotus adire domum?

As also a Gymnasium, or Palæstra, where they wrestled, and used other Exercises; 1.3.cap.68 so the same Martial,

Gymnasium thermæ stadium est ex parte, recede,

Exuimur, nudos parce videre viros.

In the Bagnio there were two other Apartments, the Calidarium, or Stove,
and the Tepidarium, called unquentarium,
tepidarium unctuarium, by Pliny unctoL.7. c. 32. rium, by Julius Pollux adsirlinguor
Sea. 2. (μές Θ. δε βαλανείε η εσχάρα η άλειπτίο 10ν)

the cor) into these the Wrestlers and others went, when they had perform'd their Exercises: * Theophrastus affirms, * De sudothat the generality of the Wrestlers, 456, 459. though healthy, had very strong and nauscous Sweats, (Diotimus the Gymnafiarch divides them into three forts. according to the degrees of Exercise, and the several Changes made in the Body) and that if the Fueller made a strong Fire all of the fudden in the Stove, it caused a less Sweat; but if the Fire were encreast gradually, it was of more use. I shall not reckon up all the Officers of the Bagnio, (the Fornacator, the Dendropbori, Aquarii, Pilicrepi, &c.) but mention only the Alipta, whom Calius Aurelianus calls Unctor, and so does the old Gloffary, Ansiming, Unctor; who anointed the Wrestlers; but this was the Office of an inferiour Servant, the Governour of the Bagnio was called the Alipta, says Jul. Pollux, & Egesnicos (yun- L.3. c. Mt. рать, атобитнейь, тахаворая) таботей. 6 1.7. с. 3. Bus te in yumasins, o de ansimins adonthough the word was not allowed among the Ancients, being introduc'd by the Writers of the Midling Comedy, (of meon namuno);) which is also acknowledg'd

ledged by the Author of the Brymologic

Grut. 1090. 9.

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De fledoil. p. 455,

com magnum, who affirms, that inflead of dreining the Antients used the word musore Bus But in process of time it was denizen'd for the People of Sparta crected a Mondment to Gains Rubeit us Bianor the Aleipres, for his Gravity, according to the Lavedemonian Cofforms and for his Vertue in the Gymnafia? But I cannot agree with the Translator of as nother infeription, where aneight world is rendred by Alipte, for the anelow were not the Governours of the Gymnafium, but the mayaganus of the Gentlemen, who perform'd their Exercifes, and erected that Monument to Bute the Gymnafiarch, or Aliptes: The Office was very honourable, for the Grut. 313. Gymnafiarch was often the High-Priest of 10. 316.1. the place for life, and honour'd with other confiderable Preferments; and it was reckon'd among his noblest Titles, that he was Governour of the Imperial

Id. 327.

Bagnio. The Office of the Gymnafiarch was annual, but it was often given for feveral years to the fame Perion, it he deferved well of the Society; for then, besides the Continuation in his Dignity, he was honour'd with a Crown of Gold Stat

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Statue, and Inscriptions to perpetuate

When a Bath was built, it was usual to give it a solemn Dedication: * So * 178.7. Divelegian and Maximian, Confrantius and Galerius Emperors, with Severus and Maximian Cæfars, confecrated the Baths of Dioclestan, (and probably for this reafon does the Historian aggravate the Lamprid. Cruelty of Caracallus, that he murder'd P.111.112. feveral People of all Conditions in the Baths) and fome eminent Perfons were depared Curarors to super-intend the Building, that it might not fall into ruine, nor its Revenues be alienated or employ'd to wrong uses. And such care was taken, that every thing should be kept in due repair, that though the Revenue hath been alienated for many Ages, yet the very Ruines of those publick Buildings at Rome remain to this day very venerable.

16: No similaring

At Arfoffa, in the Ruines of a noble Church, upon the Chapiters of feveral Marble Pillars, that supported the Body or Nave of the Church, is inscrib'd the time of the Foundation of that sacred Building,

178.7.

Building, which is said to have been erected when Sergius was Bishop of the place.

† Έπὶ Σεγίε ἐπακόπε τε συγγενες Μαρωνίε τε χωρεποκόπε.

Episcopo Sergio consanguineo Maronii Chorepiscopi.

Whither Maron, or Maronius, in the Inscription, were the same with the Founder of the Sect of the Maronites, I cannot determine, nor whither the Church did belong to them; but it seems probable both from the name, and because the Maronites chief Residence anciently, as now, was about Mount Libanus, and in the neighbouring places towards the Euphrates.

* Leg. Apáxas.

Distribution,

Διὶ ύψες μεγες η ἐππιος Βωλανός Ζηνοβίε τε Αἰράνε, τε Μοκίμε, τε Μάθθα ἐπιμελητής δ ή αίρεθελς * Ερκας πηγῶς ὑπὸ Ιαριβώλε Θεέ τὸν βῶμιον ἐξ ίδιων ἀνέθηκεν ἔτες ΔΟΥ μηνός Υπερβερεπαίε κ΄.

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Jovi summo, maximo, & propitio Bolanus Zenobii filius, Airanis nepos, Mocimi pronepos. Matthæ abnepos, curator octavus electus fontis Aphacitidis sub Jaribolo Deo, aram suis sumptibus posuit, anno 474. mensis Octobris 20. h. e. Christi 162. M. Aurelii Antonini 2°

I have made the Emendation in the Inscription (which Mr. Hallifax confesses is not overconfident, that it was rightly taken) upon the Authorism the ancient Writers have unquest was callen of oracular was called so, that I have met the interest of the int

which I think fit to add, that me Worship of Venus in that place was very antient, that the Temple was ve- Soz. Eccl. ry famous, that it stood upon the Banks Hist.l.2.c.5 of the River Adonis, on the side of Mount Libanus, and was of old very illustrious, and much honoured; that upon certain days, after the usual forms of

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Invocation, a Fire descended from the top of Mount Libanus, like a Star, and after it had hover'd a while up and down in the Air, plung'd it self at last into the River: The Inhabitants were of Opinion, that the Star was Vrania, by which To which the name they call Venus. Historian adds, that the Temple was utterly destroy'd by the order of the Great Hift. Eccl. Constantine, as Enfebius avers, and with 1. 2. c. 18. them agrees Socrates; but it is certain, Cin. and the Apparitions were may credit Zofimus ano. red Zealots for Pagann stime, (he lived in the m ons the Descent of the the year, agreeab. records, and Damascius bout a hundred years after vouches for the Truth and Frag of those Apparitions in his time: It therefore very probable, that the People of Heliopolis (as of Emesa, and other parts of Libanesia) being warm Favourers of the Heathen Rites, would not eafly suffer themselves to be weaned from their Idolatry; but repaired

their Temple, and adorn'd it, though

not with fo great Pomp and Splendor; for though Sozomen fays expresly, that the Temple of Venus at Heliopolis was ruin'd by Constantine's order, yet in the latter end of Constantius's Reign, it was very famous again, faith the * old Geo- * EE/y. 3x3 grapher fet out by Gothofred, and wor- 6.17. p. 14. thipt with great Ceremony, (peraλιώως σέβεση) it being the common Opinion of the Country, that Venus dwelt there; and through her Favour fo order'd it, that the Woman of Mount Libanus were the fairest of all the Afiaticks, as they were to a Proverb, (Socrates fays, that they held their Women in common, and proftituted their Daughters to their Guests;) and I doubt not but under Julian, by whose Influi ences and Affistance dying Paganism began to recover some Strength and Vigour, the Temple also recovered its lost Reputation; for it is past all dispute, that the Temple at Nacle, was not utterly destroy'd till the days of Mahomet : So fays Abulfarajus; for when he Pococ. Spereckons up the several Idols of the old cim. Hift. Gentile Arabs, which they worshipt be- not. p. 90. fore that Imposter appear'd in the World, he fays, the Inhabitants of Tha-A 2 2

kif worshipt a little Temple in the upper part of Nachla, which was called Allat, (or Alilat, i. e. the Moon, or Venus, as the Arabs calls her;) and Abulfeda avers, that the Idol was destroy'd and ruined, by the command of Mahomet, in the ninth year of the Hegira, i.e. in the year of Christ 631.

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Near to the Temple of Venus at Nacle, was the Well Aphaca situate; so the Castalian Fountain at Delphi, stood near v. Marm. the Temple of Apollo, and another ora-

Ox. p. 100 cular Spring of that name in Daphne the Suburb of Antioch, role near the Temple of the same God; which from the times of Seleucus, who built both the City and the Temple, was very famous, till the Emperor Adrian fill'd the Well with stones, and stopt its Current: Julian open'd it again; but in a little time both Fountain and Temple were consum'd by Lightning from Heaven. How those Fountains gave their prophetick Answers, the ancient Writers are not agreed; some say the Enquirer wrote his Question on a Lawrel-leaf, and threw it into the Fountain; in which, when he took it out, he found his Fate written; others, that by the different

different noise of the Waters, either he. who confulted the Oracle, or the Priest, deputed to that Office, interpreted the Doom; while a third fort affirm, that the Priest drank the Water, and having by that means imbibed the Dæmon. found himself fill'd with the Spirit of Prophecy, and inabled thereby to anfwer all Questions. How the Well Aphaca gave its Responses, Zosimus particularly relates; according to which Method the famous Stygian water at Bostra in Arabia unriddled Mens Destinies, which Damascius describes as very Damasc. aterrible; for if the Dæmon were pleaf-pud. Phot. ed, the lightest things thrown into it, would immediately fink to the bottom; but if the Dæmon were angry, the biggest and most ponderous things swam on the top for a while, and at last were thrown out to the Admiration of the By-standers. By this Well the Inhabitants used to swear; but if any one * Philostr. had been so hardy as to perjure himself, vit. Apoll. the Water that he drank caused a Dropsy 1. 1. c. 4. in him within the year: Thus the Water cell. 1. 23. of the Fountain * Asbamiæus, near the c. 26. Arist, Temple of Jupiter at Tyana was in taste m. θαυμας. smooth, and sweet to those who were ansout honest

honest and just; but if any Man happen'd to run the hazard, when he insended to perjure himself, it affected his Eyes, his Hands and his Feet, and broke out upon him in Sores and Pustules, and great Swellings; nor could he move from the Well, till he had confest'd himself forsworn: So that the Water was ordeal, like the Water of Jealoufy among the Jews, which to the Chaste gave a Conception, but to the Unjust, and the Violators of the Marriage-Vow, caused the Belly to swell, and the Thigh to rot. Of the like kind were the Fountains in Sicily, called Palici, by which the People of the Island Ariflot. ubi in cases of the greatest moment used to fwear: He who took the Oath, wrote his Deposition on a Table, which he threw into the Water; if he attested the truth, the Table swom on the top of the Waters; if he were perjur'd, it funk and disappear'd, and the Evidence was in a burning hear.

Jup. c. 55. Sotion. de flumin ex Isigono.

> Of the Fountain Aphaca, was Bolanus one of the Curators, or Overfeers, under the Inspection of Jaribolus the God; who, I suppose, had here his Oracle, and gave Directions in the choice of the Of-

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ficers belonging to it, as well as Testimonials to those, who had discharg'd their Province with Honour. Jaribolus was doubless one of the Oeol males-Segi, or owile groi, of that part of Syria, probably of the Moon, i. e. Venus, as Alagbetus and Malachbetus were Affecfors of the Sun, (the Signification of the name implies it חדו ;) fo the Egyptians deputed Sigaleon to be the Parbedrus to Sarapis, the Greeks Attis to the Mother of the Gods, Erichthonius to Minerva, Virbius to Diana, Hygeia and Telesphorus to Esculapius, Tychon to the Moon, and to Venus Adonis; and 'tis not the most improbable of Conjectures, that he, whom the Greeks called Adonis, the Syrians might stile Jaribolus, (as well as the Egyptians Tammuz) Baal and Adonai being both equivalent names of Power and Sovereignty. And in after Ages, when Emperors and others were allowed a folemn Confecration, they also were honour'd with the Title of Collateral Judges to Jupiter, magedege were in the efteem of the Heathen World, the twelve v. Salm. in greater Gods; for when Alexander the H.A. Scrip. Great was to be deify'd, he was call'd ? 38,

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by Demades, the 13th of that Society; and when Alexander, while alive, was resolv'd to give his Darling Hephastion Lucian.non. a Deification, the Greeks in Vain-flattemer.cred. tery and Compliance facrificed to him calumn. as an Assessor of the Gods, (ithou maeldew ng αλεξικάκω Θεώ) and they intitled him to Apparitions, to Prophecies and Dreams, fays Lucian, (and for this reason I suppose * Eusebius joins ονεις σπομπες η παςεδ ςες δαιμιονας toge-1- 4. C. 7. ther, when he speaks of the Gnosticks:) This Pageantry of Canonization was acted over again by the Emperor Adrian, to omit other Instances, when he Deify'd his Pathic Antinous, the Greeks of that Age attributing to him fuch Oracles as Hadrian himself had composed, says + Capitolinus: To the Memory of that Catamite the Emperor built a City in Ægypt called by his name, Antinoopolis; there he buried him, and there especially (though the Worship prevail'd elsewhere) he appointed him a Temple, Priests and Prophets, (2) 8 κ, πόλιν έκπισαν επώι υχεον Αντινόε, κ, προ-A Apud En- phras, fays | Hegesippus) of which num-

feb. 1.4.c.8. ber was M. Ulpius Apollonius it * Gru-* 86, 1, ter, and perhaps † Onias, who stiles

himself

himself the High-Priest, and Prophet in another Inscription, for that he was of Ægypt, his name convinces me: It must be confest, that in Egypt the most eminent Priest was called the Prophet, says Clemens of Alexandria; but probably for this reason, because they all pretended to the Spirit of Prophecy, especially where there was an Oracle, as there was at Antinoogolis; and the Faculty of Prediction descended often from Father to Son, as well as the Priesthood. (which among the Greeks as well as the Jews, was often fixt to a Family;) for which reason T. Porcius is stiled the Son of Proclus Ælianus, a most illustrious Person, and a Prophet in an old * Inscription; for among the Priests of * Grut. Ifis, (and probably among those devo- 458, 1. ted to any other Deity,) ¿mair of anoθανη τέτφ παις αντικαθίςαλαι, says Herodotus †; if the Father happen'd to + Lib. 2. die, the Son succeeded him. The Ha- V. Heliodor. bit of these Prophets, says || Herodian, || Lib. 5. was a Vest, or Cassock, reaching down to the Feet, with long Sleeves; and in the middle of the Vest a stripe of Purple, their Shoes being made of Linen: This, fays the Historian, was the Habit

bit of the Priests of Phienicia and Syria. Such an Oracle as this I am inclined to

* Heges. ub. sub.

330. 3.

attribute to Jaribolus, (either at Nacle, or at Palmyra) from whence the People derived their Predictions of what was to come, and their Testimonials of what was past; and perhaps the Oracle gave its Answers at the solemn Meetings, when great numbers of the People of the Country came to the Fountain; for that there were fuch (σιώοδοι) Conventions at flated times. Zosimus affirms expresly; at which their Games were celebrated, (as the Agon Gymnicus call'd * Avluberos, Was perform'd in honour of the Darling of Adrian) there being particular Officers deputed to that Service; the chief of † 318. 3. which was the High-Prieft, (the Archierens, or Primus Sacerdos Synbodi, me osains orwoods, as he is stiled in the Inscriptions) and under him the Curators, or 'Emperation, of which number Bolamus was one at Aphaca, (for that I suppose to be the name of the Well, as

two Fountains at Gadara, Asbamiæus, 179. 6. Castalius, &c. elsewhere.) In a famous v.6180.1. Inscription in Gruter, the Masters or

Eros and Anteros were the names of

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Governours of the Fons Palatinus, are reckon'd up, of whom some were sirst admitted to the Honour in that year when Octavius Lenas, and M. Antonius Rusinus were Consuls; others had born the Office a second time, some a third or sourth; and they are distinguisht from the inserior Officers, (their Ministri) of whom also some had done the Service a second, others a third year. In that Marble the number of Governors is eleven, but in the next Inscription the Governours of the Fons Lollianus are but ten:

In this Inscription Jupiter is not only stiled Optimus Maximus, but Propitius in in Instrument of his Favours; so Isis and Diana are called in in other * Inscriptions.

* 40. 10. 73. I.

18.

Διὶ μεγίςω περαυνίω ύπες σω πρέας Τρα. Αδριανέ σεβ · · τε πυρίε Αγάθάγγελ. Αβιληνός της Δεκαπόλεως τω καμάραν ώποδόμησεν η την κλιν · · εξ ίδιων
άνεθηπεν, έτες ΕΜΥ μηνός Λώε.

Fori

¥ 644. I.

Jovi maximo fulminanti pro salute Trajani Hadriani Domini sui Agathangelus Abilenus Decapolites camaram ædificavit, & lectisternium propriu sumptibus posuit. Anno 445. mense Augusto; h. e. Christi 133. Hadrian 17.

This Marble was found at Tieve near three days Journey from Palmyra, in the Wall of a Mosque, which probably was the old Temple of Jupiter the Thunderer, (who in other Inscriptions is sometimes stiled bronton, fulgurans, tonans, fulgerator, &c.) in which Agathangelus erected a Cupola, and a Bed of State to the Honour of the God, and for the Safety or Recovery of his Prince. The name Agathangelus occurs elsewhere, (Cn. Cossutius Agathangelus in *Gruter;) ours is said to have been an Inhabitant of Abila, but at the same time a Decapolitan, which will no longer seem a Difficulty, if we remember L.s. c. 18. that not only Pliny avers, that the Geographers were not agreed, what particular Cities constituted the Decapolitan Region of Syria, though all confest the

name

name to have been impos'd from the number of the Cities, and that the Tetrarches of Trachonitis, and Paneas, that Abila and Arca, &c. do intermix with, and encircle that Region; but that Pto. lome in express words (if we may credit the Palatine MSS.) treating of the Cities of Syriæ Cale, among which he principally names Heliopolis, Abila Lyfanie, &c. calls them Cities of Decapolis; so that Agathangelus as to his City was an Inhabitant of Abila, but of the Province or Region of Decapolis.

Agathangelus was a very Loyal Subject, though he lived at a great distance from the Court; and for the Safety of his Prince built a Cupola, and fet up a Bed of State under it to Jupiter, xanaea, formix testudo, in the old Glossaries: καμαεία κοιτών καμάρας έχων in He-Sychius. The antient Baths were so adorn'd, says Pliny, (fenestras è regione Lib.2.Ep.2. conditor binas confinio cameræ pendentis admovit, ut suscipientium usui fabrefactum lacunar aperiret;) and the Stadia, or Palestræ, (for in one of them P. Licinius Priscus built a Piazza, with several Cupolás, ou nena pase putrois

SINDIC

Oxon. Marm. n. 79.

δικοις η προσμοσμήμασιν;) sometimes the Tombs: * So the Tomb of Nilus the Oeconomus of Afia was adorn'd; but particularly Temples and Churches: So when Justinian the Emperor new built the Trullus of the Church of San-. Ha Sophia, and enlarg'd it thirty feet in Circumference, he added two Cupola's to it, one toward the North, the other to the South, (Ta's 800 naprieus) which continue to this day. Thus Augustus says of himself in the Ancyran Marble, Pulvinar ad circum maximum, ædes in Capitolio fici; and Tully of M. Antony, who was one of the Priests of Julius, Nec majorem bonorem Cæsar confecutus est ab Antonio, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulachrum, fastigium. Some Authors fay, that the Tholus, Cupola, was a place in the middle of the Camejur. Pontif. ra of the Temple, in which those who made Vows hung up their Offerings; others that the Camera was above the Cupola, like our Lanterns, (fo fays Philander;) others, that the Camera was no other than the Cupola it felf, which being lessen'd by degrees, ended in a point. The Ledisternia are describ'd by † Arnobius ;

+ L. 7.

1. 3. c. 9.

nobius; habent enim Dij Lectos, atq; ut stratis posint modioribus incubare pulvinorum tollitur atq; excitatur impressio. The Pagan Devotion inclining them to think, that their Gods ought not to want any thing conducive to their Ease and Satisfaction. Hesyc. ndin, ned BBalG., Glossar. vet. pulvinar neg-

σκεφάλαιον.

Agathangelus built his Camera, and furnisht it with a Bed, to fulfil a Vow he had made for the Welfare of his Prince; such Vows commonly occur V. Gruter. in the old Inscriptions, onte owrne ias, η διαμονής τε κύε ιε αυτοκράτος \$; pro Salute & gloria, pro salute itus ac reditus Imperatoris, pro salute Imp. totiúsq; domûs divinæ, pro salute, & incolumitate domus divinæ, pro salute. & gloria, pro æternitate Imperii, & Salute Imperatoris. Sometimes they vow'd the Building a new Temple, or the Repairing an old one, sometimes the Adorning a Temple with Pillars and Chapiters, with Porches, or Cupola's; at other times the Offering of folemn and pompous Sacrifices, (so C. Betonius the first Priest of the Emperors, offer'd the TauroXXIX.

Tauropolium of the whole Province of Narbonne, for the Safety of Septimius Severus, and M. Aurelius Antoninus Caracallus his Son, for so the Inscription must be read, M. Aurel. Ant. not M. Aureliani, for what hath the Emperor · Aurelian to do with Septimius Severus ?) and some Romans were so over officious, that, when their Prince was fick, in expectancy of a great Reward, they devoted themselves to Death, (aringuyou) so the Emperor might recover. So when Caius Caligula fell into a dangerous Distemper, P. Afranius Potitus, a Plebeian, bound himself by an Oath, that himself would die, if Caligula might be cured; and Atanius Secundus, a Man of the Equestrian Dignity, promis'd to fight among the Gladiators for the same reason: And the Emperor was so sensible of the Flattery, that he compell'd them both to be as good as their Promiles. We may adjust the Time of this Inscription by the Date; fince the Coins inform us, that ann. 132. the 16th of Hadrian, the Senate and People of Rome made Vows for his Health, (Senatus populusq; vota sufcipta.

Dio. 1. 59. p. 645. cepta. Vota publica. Vota publica, S. c.) the same Persons in the year following paying their Thanks to Jupiter for his Recovery, (Jupiter custos. Jovi custodi, S. c.) to this Jupiter on the same occasion, Agathangelus in Syria, made his Vows, some months after the Romans had made theirs; the distance from Italy to that part of Asia upon the Euphrates, being to be allowed for.

19.

The next Inscription is singular as to its Language, and I shall endeavour to fill up the void spaces thus.

Conservatores orbis, & Propagatores generis humani D. D. N. N. Dioclesianus, & Maximianus Invictissimi Imperatores; & Constantius & Maximianus. Nobiles Cæsares Castra fæliciter condiderunt

• ntes Cassiano Hieroclete Viro probo Præside provinciæ Devoti Numini Majestatig; eorum.

sign

cerra. Veci publica

I have inserted the name of Maximinus, (Herculius) because he was at that time the sole Co-partner of the Empire with Dioclesian: I call them Conservatores orbis, and invictissimi, from their Coins; and I have chang'd the Pranomen of Hierocles into Cassianus, which is well known to be Roman, while Ossianus no where occurs; the time when the Marble was erected has been already adjusted; for then Dioclesian built several Castles upon the

P.148,149 been already adjusted; for then Dioclesian built several Castles upon the Euphrates, or rather then he built the Castr Caircesia; for the it was a Frontier Castle before that time, (Gordian, when slain by Philip, having been buried

Marcellinus, who had been at the place, fays his Tomb was not at Circefium, but at Zaitha seven miles from it: Zofimus says it was at Dura, Eutropius and Rusus twenty miles from Circesium;) yet it was to poor and weak a place, says Ammianus. till Dioclesian fortified it with strong Walls and Towers, that for that reason he may be with justice said to have built the Castle, as those who have

have beautified decay'd Cities, are commonly stiled by the Greeks (xn5ai) the Founders of those Places.

20.

In the ruines of Briadeen, the following Inscription was found.

Αφιεςώθη Αφι Δινδία τε ΑΜΦ έτας δια-Ματέςνα η Πάππα η Μαίκα κνετ μν.

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It seems to have been inscrib'd on an Altar, or some Pillar of a Temple dedicated to Minerva Lindia, for so I would correct and read it;

Αριερώθη Αθη. Λινδίω το ΑΜΦ έτες δια Ματέρνε, η Πάππε η Μάρκε είς τειμήν.

Consecratum suit Minervæ Lindiæ à Materno, & Pappo, & Marco in honorem, (Deæ.) Anno 541. h. e. 229. Christi. Alexandri Severi 8.

B b 2

That .

That Alexander Severus was the Darling of the East, no Man will doubt, who considers that he was not only born in Syria, but had made a victorious Expedition into Persia to secure the Quiet of his Native Country; and that for his illustrious Qualities he was deify'd in Libanessa and Palmyrene, as well as at Rome. In his Reign was the Inscription set up at Briadeen (possibly to fulfil a Vow for his Preservation) in honour of Minerva Lindia. Lindus is Rhodes, says Suidas*, the name both

*V.PoS. Rhodes, says Suidas *, the name both & Possion of the Island and City, where Minerva χενισμός. was worshipt with an extraordinary

Devotion, the Inhabitants facrificing to her every day, and every day making

Narrat.47. a Feast in her Temple. Conon tells us, that the Phanicians having possess themselves of Rhodes, were driven out by the Carians; and that the Dorians, under the Conduct of Althamenes, disposes in the Island, Lindus, Jalysus, and Camirus, which at last became one great City, called Rhodes after the name

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of the Island: And * Apollodorus affirms, * L. 2. c.1. that Danaus having by the help of his Daughters, murther'd the Sons of his Brother Ægyptus, being his own Sons in Law, built a Ship by the advice of Minerva, in which himself and Daughters fled out of Ægypt to Rhodes, where he dedicated the Image of Minerva Lindia. Minerva, says + Hyginus, built + Fab. 277. the Ship for Danaus, the first of the kind that ever was feen in Greece, fays || Pliny: This Voyage of Danaus, com- 1 7. 46. menc't when Erichthon was King at Athens, says the noble Collection of Epocha's in the * Oxford Marble, that * n. 9. his Daughters Amymone, Helice, and Archedice, being chosen by lot by the other Sisters, built the Temple upon the Shoar in the Maritime City of Rhodes, call'd Lindus; which, fays † Strabo, was fituate toward the South, † L. 14. especially toward Alexandria: For in p. 655. that City, as | Diodorus Siculus affirms, |L.5.p.227. he was hospitably received, and therefore built the Temple, and consecrated the Statue; there he lost three of his Daughters, who died of the Pestilence, B b 3 which

c. 102.

which then raged at Lindas, the reft failed with their Father to Argos. The same Historian adds, that Cadmus not long after offer'd feveral Gifts in that Temple, among which was a Brafs Veffel made à l'antique, with an Infeription in Phænician Characters. But if we may believe the noble Marble, Cadmus failed to Thebes eight years before Danaus left Ægypt; fo that that part of the Story is a Parachronism in Diodorus. A long time after Danaus's Death. Herod, 1. 2. Amafis the King of Azypt presented the fame Minerva of Lindus with two Statues of Stone, and with a Linen Breaft plate of admirable Work, (Thoraces linei being very usual among the ancient * Part. 2. Captains, as * Ferrarius unquestionably 1.4. c. 11. proves, and Minerva was a warlike Goddels, it was formewhat like our Silkarmors) because his Country-women built that Temple: Which, Strabo fays, was in his time very illustrious, and much frequented Nor was the honour'd only in that Country, but in Syria, if we may credit the infcription. In which I have put Marga Go for Mar-

xG.

κου though perhaps it should be Malchus. Hesyc. ἀριέςωσε, τῷ θεῷ ἀνεθηνών, 98. 7. καθιέςωσεν, in Gruter.

would read,

21.

At Andreen, which lies between Briadeen and Aleppo, among the Ruines of
an ancient Church, were found some
broken inscriptions, the Remains of the
Devotions of the Christians of sormer
Ages.

Ευξάμεν ઉ. εγδ Ιωάννης Επέτυχα ε ευχαρισών το ΟΕΕ πέρο — Ενεκα υπές των άμαξτων μες

Ego Johannes precatus Deum asseutus fam, (quod petit) & gratius agens Deo (votum folvi ut peccatis meis (sit propitius.)

Over the Southern Door was written,

Αυτη ή πύλη τε κυθέε δικαίδι είσελεύσοντας ον αυτή.

B b 4

Porta

Porta bæc Domini justificat intrantes

Over the Western Door, which I would read,

chillo Deo optimo Maximo.

These Inscriptions do not need a Commentary, since nothing difficult occurs in them; but they cannot but raise a deep Commiseration in all Christians to see so many venerable Remains of the ancient Piety either converted into Mosques, or buried in their own Ruines: No Churches having in past times been more illustrious for Religion, and good Letters, than the Oriental, in which at this time there are but some few sootsteps of either, the rest being over-run with Barbarism and Insidelity.

The next broken Inscription is also undoubtedly Christian, (as those where-

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in

in Oeds Iaxus, and Eurisia appear:) and, I suppose, contain'd the names of the eminent Angels Vriel, Raphael, Gabriel, Michael, (and perhaps the former Inscription may be thus rendred, xeisds Ocoron G., Mizana, Takeina, Papana, according to the form of a similar Epigraphe in Gruter;) for it was not unu- 1048. 2. fual to affix the names of those holy Angels upon the Christian Tombs, out of opinion to engage them to be Guardians of the Sepulchre (as the modern Pretenders to converse with Spirits, infcribe their names usually on their Utenfils;) so in the Tomb of Mary the Wife of the Emperor Honorius, on a Plate, were written these names: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Vriel. Id. 287. 4.

I have now done with the Monuments of this once famous Country; and, because there is in every Man an innate Desire of living after he hath lest this World, though all Men do not believe there is another; and that they desire, when they are dead, to be remembred, and well spoken of, that their Actions may not be confin'd to the same Grave with their Carcasses; I shall con-

clude

clude with the wife Saying of the Rolman Orator, That whenever we fee fuch Remains of venerable Antiquity, fach lafting Records of the names, and Archieverhents of great Perfons, we are admonths to take care to to regulate our Actions, that we may convince the World we have fettled our prospect upon the Rewards of Future Ages, and not on the Flattefies of the Present; and to remember, that Monuments being erected to the Memory of thele, who have lived well in this World before they left it, put us in mind, that there is nothing here permanent, and immutable, and that 'tis the Duty of confidering Men to affire towards Immortal . 4 .782 M lity. chaef. Gabriel, Raybael, Chiel.

I have now done with the Moramonth to cause there is invested Man an
most Desire of living assertly Man an
this, World, though all Men do not believe there is another; and that they desire, when they are dead, to be temenfire, when they are dead, to be temenare may not be coasing to the tame
one may not be coasing to the tame
Crave with their Carcesses; I shall can-

che. 216. Palmyra made a Roman Colory by
the Empered Caracalla, in his Ex-

nedition into Parthia.

A Short Chronicle of Palmyra.

Anno Per. Ful. 3720 Mund-3010.

Fordien. a-

Almyra, built by Solomon after he had finisht the Temple, and his own House, which were 20 years in building. emphins being

M. 3415.

P. J. 4125. Palmyra destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, before he laid Siege to Jeru-Salem. pores King of

M. 3963. V.G. Varr. 713. ante Chrift. 41.

P.J. 4673. Marc. Antony, after the Battel of Philippi, we'll into Afia, and fent his Troops to pillage Palmyra.

Odenathus, with his Son

122. then Zer

Didoes S

An. Christe Hadrian, an. Imp. 6. went into the East, rebuilt (probably) Palmyra, and call'd it Hadrianople, when Malech Agrippa was the second time Secretary of that City.

Palmyra

Palmyra

- circ. 216. Palmyra made a Roman Colony by the Emperor Caracallus, in his Expedition into Parthia.
 - The Republick of Palmyra affisted

 Alexander Severus against Artaxerxes King of Persia, Zenobius
 being their General.
 - The Republick assisted Gordian against the Persians, Zenobius being their General.
 - 260. Valerian was taken Prisoner by Sapores King of Persia.
 - was declared Emperor by Galli-
 - Odenathus, with his Son Herodian, flain by Mæonius. Mæonius, the Ephemerous Emperor of Palmyra, flain a few days after; then Zenobia assumes the Empire in her own name, and her Sons.

Zenobia

Zenobia routed Heraclianus, Gallie-267. nus's General. Vaballathus took the Empire. - Gallienus flain. 268. Claudius chosen Emperor. Zenobia conquer'd Ægypt by her 270. General Zabdas. Claudius died. Quintillus reigned 16 Aurelian in the later end of the year was chosen Emperor. Palmyra taken, and ruin'd by Aure-272. lian, and Longinus flain; an. of Vaballathus. Zenobia carried in triumph at 213. Rome. 298. Hierocles, Governor of Palmyrene under Dioclesian. Justinian in the first year of his 527. Reign, repaired and fortified Pal-

myra.

Palmyra

Subaytike!

BAVEG A

- hometans, Jabala the Son of Al Ibam being then Lord of Tadhmur, and King of Gassan.
 - 659. The Battel of Tadhmur between Dahacus and Adis.
- 746. Saleiman the Pseudo-Caliph, beaten by Merwan, fled to Tadhmur.
- 1172. Benjamin in Tudelensis was at Tadhmur.
- mur, when the English Merchants made their first Journey thither.
- Merchants went thither the se-
 - 1693. Dor the Emir of Tadbmur.



Additions and Emendations.

Page 193. add after Sociam. Nasorus is the same name with Nasir, Abunasir, Abdalnasir, Nasireddin, which frequently occur in the Saracenick History. As does Amrus in the same History, and in the Catalogue of the Kings of Gessan, in our Learned Pocock, Sochaeis the same with Sychaes the Husband of Dido. Sampsus, &c. p. 240. 1. 6. after Harpocration, add, the the ouxages was proba-

bly the chief Magistrate, or Decurio at Aneyra.

P. 301. I. 3. after Grammar add, perhaps for auro me should read auroie, (tho Mr. H. politively avers, that it was written auroin in the Monument,) and then Elabelus, Mannaus, Sochaeis, and Malchus, being all the Sons of Vaballathus, Grand Sons of Mannaus, Great-grand Sons of Elabelus, set up that Monument for themselves, and their Children; or rather (to affert the true reading) erected that Tomb (auro) to their Father Vaballathus, (i) yois) and to themselves, (and others, if there were any) his Children. This is one of the oldest Inscriptions at Palmyra, erected anno Christi 102. the 5th of the Reign of the Emperor Trajan, Palma his Governor of Syria having some sew years before reduc'd that part of Arabia under the Roman Power, says Dio. 1.68. which Age no other Monument exceeds.

Besides Misaccentings, wrong Pointings, misplacing of Letters, and other little Faults, the Reader is desired, before he enters upon the Book, to correct the following

ERRATA.

Page 8. l. 17. preserve. P. 17. dele ison regardoscov. P. 20. 1. 14. del. M. 1. 26. r. Nice. p. 22. l. 21. when. p. 28. l. 6. a State. p. 35. l. 12. r. happen'd to fall sick. l. 21. 22. r. for in the seventeenth year of his Reign. p. 36. l. 3. r. who, living some years after, languisht. p. 48. Marg. Petri. p. 55. l. 15. f. for r. but. p. 58. l. 3. del. he. p. 59. r. an. 264. p. 62. l. 9. enraged. p. 72. l. 2. r. after which an. 268. p. 73. for probably r. doubtless. p. 86. del. the Marg. Note, and insert it p. 87. p. 118. l. 6. r. Marcellinus. l. 8. in the first year. p. 121. ch. XXVII. p. 131. l. 11. r. declard his Fartner in the Empire. p. 139. Ganophrurium.

p. 140.

p. 140. del. in all probability. p. 149. l. s. r. washt. p. 166. 1. 17. del. A. p. 193. yezunanis. p. 196. Heraclas. 201. 17. del. 32. p. 193. γεκμματιος. p. 190. Heratias. 201. Julius. 219. αναγνώσκων. ib. διύτιερη. 221. l.26. γεκμματιώς. 238. αναγγραμμένον. l. 12. brought. p. 239. l. 14. 1. five. 248. l.16. del. Jaribolus, and. p.249. l.26. είς κλι . 251. l.12. r. Xiphiline, and del. the Marg. Note. p. 254. 1. 2. the Emp. married Urania to his Country God Elaga-balus, the Moon being the fittest Wife for the Sun. 263. 1.29. Grandmother. p. 270. Marg. de Deá Syr. ed. ult. 293. 1. 6. transcribe. 299. l. 4. 78. 302. l. 13. fifth. ib. Hers. and Pani. l. 17. Chr. 138. p. 304. Marg. l. 2. chil. 310. l. 9. Alex. 313. 1. 22. r. 226. p. 317. l. 3. commanding, and affifting. 325. Emesa. 332. l. 2. Person. 345. valv rov. 348. Sonat. ib lotus. 350. l. 27. and then. 353. l. 7. Anton. tertio. 360. l. pen. in Gr. 364. l. 15. del. and. 365. Tetrarchies. ib. Syria. ib. fornix. p. 366. feci.

tig to be entired to the

FINIS.